THE ARJAN TOMB:
AT THE CROSSROADS BETWEEN
THE ELAMITE AND THE PERSIAN EMPIRES

by

JAVIER ÁLVAREZ-MON

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M.A. (Jesuit School of Theology, Graduate Theological Union) 1999

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Committee in charge:

Professor David Stronach

Professor Marian Feldman

Professor Crawford H. Greenewalt

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Abstract

The Arjan Tomb: at the Crossroads of the Elamite and the Persian Empires

by

Javier Alvarez-Mon

Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Studies

University of California, Berkeley

Professor David Stronach, Chair

This dissertation is based on a study of the archaeological evidence that derives from the Arjan tomb, a partly stone-walled elite burial found in 1982 in the vicinity of the ancient city of Arrajan, near the modern town of Behbahan in the Khuzestan Province of Iran. In 2003, under the auspices of a Fulbright-Hays Scholarship, the present writer had the opportunity to access the excavated materials recovered from this rich tomb.

Previous studies of the Arjan tomb and its associated funerary goods placed the date of the material in question between the 7th and the early 6th centuries BC. This is a period traditionally associated with the last days of the Elamite Empire and the emergence for the Achaemenid Persian Empire. Scholars focusing on Elamite-Persian emergence emphasize the survival of Elamite traditions, sometimes going as far as to suggest that the Persian Empire could not have arisen without the prior existence of the Elamite kingdom. Not withstanding the force with which such claims were sometimes made, the material evidence to support them was generally lacking prior to 1982.

It is within this framework that the fortuitous discovery of the Arjan tomb emerges as potentially one of the major archaeological discoveries of recent times. The fact that this burial can be confidently dated to the last part of the 7th century BC, or to the last years of the Elamite Empire, presents an exceptional opportunity to reassess and substantiate former views and to articulate new ones.

Based on the evidence provided by the Arjan tomb and its exceptional grave goods, the present study offers a comprehensive new analysis of the artistic characteristics of late Neo-Elamite Empire, and, by the same token, it seeks to provide a new foundation for the genesis of the art of the Achaemenid Persian world.

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A DOCTORAL DISSERTATION
BY
JAVIER ALVAREZ-MON

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY

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78:2 Elamo-Assyrian limestone plaque Sb 43 (after RCS 2001, fig. 142).
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79:2 Line drawing of engraving on emailed cylindrical vase Sb 411 (after Amiet 1966: 501, fig. 376).
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98:5 Seal drawing after W. H. Ward, 1910: 203, fig. 588.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS[2]

7000 J.	7000 Jahre persische Kunst, Catalog of the exhibit, Vienna Nov. 2000 March; Published in 2001, SKIRa editore, Milano.
AA	American Anthropologist
AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, The University Press of Liverpool.
ABC	A.K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (= TCS 5, 1975).
ABL	R. F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters (Chicago 1892-1914).
ABRT	J. Craig, Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts I/II (= AB 13, 1895/1897).
Ac	Acropolis (of Susa)
AcOr	Acta Orientalia (Budapest)
ActIr.	Acta Iranica. Encyclopédie permanente des études iraniennes (Teheran 1974 ff.).
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung (vol. 1-2 as AfK = Archiv für Keilschriftforschung, Berlin . . . Wien 1923 ff.); Beih. = Beiheft (1933 ff.).
AH	Achaemenid History, Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, Leiden.
AJ	Antiquaries Journal (London/Oxford 1921 ff.).
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology (Princeton/Baltimore 1897 ff.).
AM	1) A. Goetze, Die Annalen des Murshilish (= MVAG 29/3, 1925, reprint Leipzig 1967). 2) G. Cardascia, Les archives des Murashu (Paris 1951).

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[2] Follows standard abbreviations for Assyriology (http://cdli.ucla.edu/Tools/abbrev.html) with additional sources for Elamite studies included by the author.

AMI	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (Berlin 1929- 1938); Erg.-Bd. = Ergänzungsband (1929 ff.); NF Neue Folge (1968 ff.); Erg.-Bd. (NF.) = Ergänzungsband (Neue Folge).
Anatolia	Anatolia. Revue annuelle d'archéologie (until 1961/62), Journal of the Institute for Research in Near Eastern Civilizations and Languages (1963), Anadolu (since 1964, Ankara 1956 ff.).
ANET	J. B. Prichard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (Princeton 19501; 19552; 19693).
AnOr.	Analecta Orientalia (Rome 1931 ff.).
AnSt.	Anatolian Studies (London 1951 ff.).
AO	Der Alte Orient (Leipzig 1900 ff.). 2) Museum siglum Louvre (Antiquités orientales).
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients)(Berlin 1974 ff.).
AOr	Aula Orientalis
Ap	Apadana (of Susa)
ARAB	D. D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia (Chicago 1926/27).
ARI	A.K. Grayson, Assyrian Royal Inscriptions (Wiesbaden 1972/1976).
ARM	Archives royales de Mari (= TCL 22-31).
ArOr	Archiv Orientalni
ArtAs.	Artibus Asiae (Ascona 1925/26 ff.).
AuOr.	Aula Orientalis (Barcelona 1983 ff.).
Babyloniaca	Babyloniaca: Études de philologie assyrobabylonienne (Paris 1907-1937).

BagF	Bagdhader Forschungen (Mainz 1979 ff.).
BagM	Baghdader Mitteilungen (Berlin 1960 ff.); Beih. = Beiheft.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports. IS = International Series (London).
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (New Haven 1919 ff.). source
BCHI	Bastan Chenasi va Honar-e Iran (Review of Iranian Archaeology and Art)
BiMes.	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica (Malibu 1975 ff.). inclusion
BiOr.	Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden 1943/44 ff.).
BM	Museum siglum of the British Museum, London.
BM Mess.	M. Sigrist, Messenger Texts from the British Museum
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago (Chicago 1956 ff.).
CANES	E. Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections, I: The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library (Washington 1948).
CCL	L. Delaporte, Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des cylindres orientaux, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental, I: Fouilles et missions (Paris 1920); II: Acquisitions (1923).
CE?AMP	Lafranchi, G., Roaf, M., and Rollinger, R., eds., *Continuity of Empire (?) Assyria, Media, Persia*, Padova: S.a.r.g.o.n Editrice e Libreria, 2003.
CNRS	Centre national de Ia recherche scientifique, Paris.
CPOA 3	Civilisations du Proche-Orient Asiatique , Serie I, Archeologie et Environnement 3, documents collected by H. Gasche and B. Hrouda, 1996.
CO	Collectanea Orientalia
CRAI	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris 1857 ff.).

CS	H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals (London 1939, Reprint 1965).
CSBM II/III	D. Collon, Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Cylinder Seals, II/II, 1 (London 1982/1986).
Cyl.	Cylinder
DAFI	Cahiers de Ia Délégation anchéologique francaise en Iran (Paris 1971 ff.).
DHA	Dossiers Histoire et Archeologie
EI	Encyclopaedia Iranica
Elam.	Elamite
ENES	B. Buchanan, Early Near Eastern Seals im the Yale Babylonian Collection (New Haven 1981).
ERC	Edition Recherche sur les Civilisations, Cah. = Cahiers Mém = Mémoire (Paris).
EaW	East and West
EW	Elamisches Wörterbuch, W. Hinz und H. Koch, eds, *AMI* 17, 2 vols. 1987.
	Expedition Expedition. Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia 1958 ff.).
FHE	L. de Meyer, H. Gasche, and F. Vallat, eds. *Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae*, Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986.
HEL	The Holmes Expedition to Luristan
HT	Haft Tappeh
IA	Iranica Antiqua, also IrAnt, (Leiden 1961 ff.).
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal (Jerusalem 1950 ff.).
ILN	Illustrated London News (London 1842 ff.).
Iran	Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies (London 1963 ff.).

IrAnt.	Iranica Antiqua, also IA, (Leiden 1961 ff.).
Iraq	Iraq (British School of Archaeology in Iraq) (London 1934 ff.).
IRS	Malbran-Labat, F. (1995), Les inscriptions royales de Suse: Briques de l'époque paléo-élamite à l'Empire néo-élamite, Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux.
ISIMU	Revista sobre oriente Próximo y Egipto en la antigüedad.
JA	Journal asiatique (Paris 1822 ff.).
JAGS	Journal of the American Oriental Society (New Haven/Ann Arbor 1843 ff.); Suppl. = Supplement (1935 ff.).
JANES	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society (of Columbia University) (New York 1968/69 ff.).
JAMS	Javier Alvarez-Mon Sánchez
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JAS	Journal of Archaeological Science (London/New York 1974 ff.).
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature (Philadelphia 1890 ff.).
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies (New Haven . . . Baltimore 1947 ff.).
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden 1958 ff.).
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago 1942 ff.).
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London 1834 ff.); Suppl. = Supplement; Cent. Suppl. - Centenary Supplement (1924).
JRGS	Journal of the Royal Geographical Society (London).
JSOR	Journal of the Society of Oriental Research
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament (Sheffield 1978/79 ff.).

LAS	S. Parpola, Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, I (= AGAT 5/1, 1970); II (= AGAT 5/2, 1983).
LED	Luristan Excavation Documents
MARI	Mari, Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires (Paris 1982 ff.).
MDI	Memoires de la Delegation Archeologique en Iran (also MDP)
MDP	Mémoires de Ia Délégation en Perse (Paris 1900 ff.); Bd.29, 1943 ff. also cited as MDAI =Mémoires de Ia Délégation Archéologique en Iran .
MHI	Mesopotamian History and Environment, Occasional Publications I: Mesopotamia et Elam, Actes de la 36 ème Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Gand, 10-14 juillet 1989.
MIPP	*Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian Period: Conquest and Imperialism 539-331 BC,* J. Curtis, ed. Trustees of the British Museum. 1997.
ML	Musée du Louvre
NA	Neo-Assyrian
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Bréves et Utilitaires (Paris 1987 ff.); cf. Mémoires de NABU (1992 ff.), Cahiers de NABU (1990 ff.).
NB	Neo-Babylonian
NE	Neo-Elamite
NMI	National Museum of Iran, Tehran
OAkk	Old Akkadian period
OB	Old Babylonian period
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg Sweitzerland 1973 ff.); Series archaeologica (1980 ff.).
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago 1924 ff.).

OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology (Oxford).
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta (Leuven 1975 ff.).
OrAnt.	Oriens Antiquus
PF	Persepolis Fortification Texts
PT	Persepolis Treasury Tablets
PBS	University of Pennsylvania, Publications of the Babylonian Section (Philadelphia 1911 ff.).
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly (London 1937 ff.).
Persica	Persica. Uitgave van het Genootschap Nederland-Iran . . . (s'Gravenhage/Leuven 1963/64 ff.).
PHPB	J.A. Brinkman, A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia 1158-722 B.C. (= AnOr. 43, 1968).
PRGS	Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society and Monthly record of Geography.
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale (Paris 1886 ff.).
RAI	Rencontre assyriologique internationale; s. CRRA.
RB	Revue biblique (Paris 1892 ff.).
RCS	The Royal City of Susa, Harper, P.O., Aruz, J. and Tallon, F. eds. (1992), The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near eastern Treasures in the Louvre Museum, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Rencontre	17 Actes de la XVIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Brussels 1969) Rencontre 36 Mesopotamie et Elam (Ghent 1989)
RES	Revue des études sémitiques (Paris 1934-1939).
ResOr.	Res Orientales (Paris 1989 ff.).

RevArch.	Revue archéologique (Paris 1844 ff.).
RlA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archaologie
Rollsiegel	A. Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel (Berlin 19401; 19662; 19883).
SAA	State Archives of Assyria (Helsinki 1987 ff.).
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria. Bulletin (Padua 1987 ff.).
SANE	Sources of the Ancient Near East (Los Angeles/ Malibu 1974 ff.).
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization (Chicago 1931 ff.).
Sceaux cass.	H. Limet, Les legendes des sceaux cassites
SCS	H. Frankfort, Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region (= OlP 72, 1955).
StIr	Studia Iranica
StPohl	Studia Pohl (Rom 1967 ff.); SM = Series Maior (1969 ff.).
Sumer	Sumer. Journal of Archaeology and History in Iraq (since 1973), was Arab World (Baghdad 1945 ff.).
Syria	Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie (Paris 1920 ff.).
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients (Wiesbaden 1977 ff.); Beihefte: Reihe A, Naturwissenschaften (1977 ff.); Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften (1972 ff.).
TBM	M. Sigrist, Texts from the British Museum 1993
TCL	Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre (Paris 1910 ff.).
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources; A.L. Oppenheim ed.
TSBA	Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
TZ	Tchoga Zanbil
VR	Ville Royale (of Susa)
VT	Vetus Testamentum (Leiden 1951 ff.), S = Supplements (1953 ff.).

YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts (New Haven 1915 ff.).
YBYN	*Yeki Bud, Yeki Nabud: Essays on the Archaeology of Iran in Honor of William M. Sumner'*, Monograph 48, the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, 2003.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete , (from 1939) und Vorderasiatische Archäologie (Leipzig, Berlin 1886 ff.); s. UAVA.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

I.1. INTRODUCTION AND GOALS

In 1981-82 in Arjan, located north of Behbahan in Khuzestan Province in Iran, a bulldozer leveling the ground for the construction of a dam on the Marun River cut through a stone-walled tomb located on top of one of the higher hills on the left bank of the river.[1] Archaeologists F. Towhidi and A. Khalilian, from the Office of Historical Remains, arrived at the location where, in the presence of the local authorities, they proceeded to uncover a rectangular underground tomb chamber and to remove its contents. According to archaeologist F. Towhidi, there were no architectural remains in the vicinity of the tomb. No further survey or excavation was undertaken outside the confines of the tomb itself (Towhidi and Khalilian 1982: 233).[2] The removal of the contents of the tomb was undertaken in the presence of local religious and secular authorities from Behbahan. All the objects were packed and transferred to the National Museum of Iran. A summary report on the finds was published in 1982 (Towhidi and Khalilian 1982) with a more detailed publication in English appearing in 1985 (Alizadeh 1985). Further publications of specific individual materials found in the Arjan tomb have dealt with the textiles (Mo'taqed 1990), the Arjan bowl (Sarraf 1990, Majidzadeh 1990, Stronach 2003c, 2004a, 2004b, and Alvarez-Mon 2004), aspects of the Arjan beaker (Sarraf 1990), and the Arjan ring (Sarraf 1996, Stronach 2000).

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[1] The driver noticed the cavity. He went inside and faced an underground chamber with a metal coffin inside. The authorities were then alerted. According to the original report by F. Towhidi and A. Khalilian, the bulldozer destroyed two large pottery jars lying on the surface of the burial. This surface also included burnt soil (Towhidi and Khalilian 1982: 233). One of the surface pots may have survived (see section dedicated to the objects found outside the grave).

[2] I am most grateful to Mr. Towhidi for clarifying various aspects regarding the excavation of the Arjan tomb and its original setting.

In 2003, under the auspices of a Fulbright-Hays Scholarship and working closely with the authorities of the National Museum of Iran as well as with the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHO) and the provincial authorities of Khuzistan, the present writer was able to create a digital record of all the principal objects froun in the tomb. In addition, I had the opportunity to access all the material recovered from the Arjan tomb, including the bathtub coffin. After closely inspecting and digitally recording all the objects it became apparent to me that most of the material was stylistically closely related and that a publication presenting the total corpus of objects was required in order to understand the exceptional importance of the find. The author is most grateful to the help and warm hospitality of Mohammad Reza Kargar, Director of the National Museum of Iran; Shahrook Razamjou, Director of the Center for Achaemenid Studies; Zahra Jafarmohammadi, Head Curator at the National Museum of Iran; Mohammed H. Talebian, director of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization at Haft Tappeh, Tchogha Zanbil and Persepolis; Peter Morgan, Director of the British Institute for Persian Studies; and Remi Boucharlat, Director of the IFRI (Institut Français de la Récherche en Iran).

Previous studies of the Arjan tomb and funerary related goods have placed the manufacture of this material between the 7th and early 6th centuries BC. This time-period is considered to fall within the broad Neo-Elamite II-III periods (743-539 BC). Traditionally, our knowledge of the Neo-Elamite period (ca. 1000-539 BC) has depended on the sequence of Elamite political history presented by the Assyrian royal inscriptions and the Babylonian chronicles (Streck 1916: 358-348; Cameron 1936: 155-169; Hinz 1972: 138-161; Stolper 1984a: 44-56; Miroschedji 1990: 47-95; Boucharlat 1994: 220; Potts 1999: 259-309; Waters 2000; and Henkelman 2000, 2002). Due to the

In addition, and on the basis of the relative concordance of the three individuals named Kurluš, F. Vallat has suggested they might be one and the same person. Accordingly, Parsirra and Kidin-Hutran would have been brothers. In defense of a higher chronology for the Arjan material, A. Alizadeh has stressed the absence of sufficient data on the development of the Elamite language during the first centuries of the first millennium BC, holding that the inscription may possibly be earlier than the date suggested by Vallat, i.e. earlier than 650 BC (Alizadeh 1985: 56).[31]

Artistic analysis of the materials and the tomb found at Arjan have placed the finds variously from the second half of the 8th century to the first quarter of the 6th century (Towhidi and Khalilian 1982: 232-28, Alizadeh 1985, Majidzadeh 1990, Stronach 2000, 2003c, 2004); Although there is increasing consensus in narrowing this chronology to the 7th or the beginning of the 6th centuries BC (Boehmer 1989: 142-143, Carter 1994: 65-77, Stronach 2000).

In the past few years a significant reassessment of the sources together with the incorporation of new textual and archaeological evidence has prompted an alternative view of the Neo-Elamite period that, though still very much dependent on foreign sources, seeks to critically integrate them into the emergent historical context (Miroschedji 1990; Vallat 1996b, Potts 1999: 259-307; Henkelman 2000, 2003). The period is divided into three or two parts, according to whether one follows textual or archaeological evidence. In both cases, the earliest part of the period (c. 1000-c. 743

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[31] Our knowledge of Neo-Elamite vocabulary, grammar, and syntax remains imperfect; thus the translation and interpretation of many texts are uncertain. As a rule, moreover, Neo-Elamite texts provide little internal information regarding their date. Neo-Elamite paleographic and stylistic features "do not prove consistent even within the same inscription and it is difficult to establish accurate dates for these inscriptions on such criteria" (Henkelman 2000: 2).

BC) remains practically unknown.[32] The archaeological division championed by Pierre de Miroschedji proposes a bipartite division with a transition from Neo-Elamite I to the Neo-Elamite II, at about 725/700 BC (de Miroschedji 1981, 1982; Carter and Stolper 1984: 182; Carter 1994). Significantly, de Miroschedji stresses the archaeological continuity in the material record of the Neo-Elamite II and Neo-Elamite III periods, notwithstanding the supposed instability of central government or the severe destruction of 647-646 BC claimed by Assurbanipal (de Miroschedji 1981: 36-40; Reade 2000). E. Carter however does indicate a "less smooth transition than that reconstructed by Miroschedji" as attested by changes in the ceramic record (Carter 1994: 73). The tripartite chronological division of the period proposed by textual sources heavily relies on the Assyro-Babylonian sources for an understanding of the Neo-Elamite II period (770/743-653/646). This period usually refers to the time of close Assyro-Elamite-Babylonian relationships. The year 653 BC marks the installation by Assurbanipal of Huban-nikaš II as 'king of Elam' and Tammaritu I as 'king of Hidalu.' This date is taken as the end date of an independent centralized Elamite kingdom and therefore marks the end of the Neo-Elamite II period. Some divergence arises regarding the validity of this approach. W. Henkelman indicates that 653 BC "does not, imply a kind of co-regency or a breaking apart of Elam into several kingdoms" (Henkelman 2002: 4). F. Vallat and D. Potts prefer to extend the ending date of the Neo-Elamite II period to the sacking of Susa in 647-646 BC (Vallat 1996: 385; Potts 1999: 260; Reade 2000). Finally, the Neo-Elamite III period (653/646 –

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[32] Textually, there is no attestation of an Elamite king before Huban-nikaš I (743-717). The date of this king's reign is taken as the transition between the Neo-Elamite I and the Neo-Elamite II periods. But, as pointed out by Henkelman, "an Elamite king could hardly have been mentioned anywhere, as the first datable entry in the Assyrian Chronicle I is 745 BC" (Henkelman 2002: 4).

c.539 BC) ends with a relative date corresponding to the hypothetical conquest of Elam by Cyrus II, the Great (c. 559-530). The Neo-Elamite III period is itself divided into two phases: the Neo-Elamite IIIA (c. 653/647-605/585 B.C.), and Neo-Elamite IIIB (605/585-539 B.C.) periods (Potts 1999: 295-301).

Table I. Chronologies of the Neo-Elamite Period[33]

	Miroschedji	Steve	Malbran-Labat	Vallat	Potts	Waters
N-E I	c. 1000-725/700	c. 1000-760	1000-c. 760	c. 1100-770	c. 1000-744	c. 1000-743
N-E II	c. 725/700 -520	c. 750-653	c.750-653	c. 770-646	743-646	743-653
N-E IIIA		c. 653-605	653-539	646-c. 585	646-539	653-c.550
N-E IIIB		c. 605-539		c. 585-539		

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[33] After M.-J. Steve 1986: 18-21; F. Vallat 1996b; Potts 1999: 260; and Waters 2000:3.

PART II

THE ARJAN TOMB

INTRODUCTION: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF DEATH AND BURIAL

The discovery of a single, intact, burial of a high status individual in the foothills of southwestern Iran allows us to make a number of observations concerning the nature of funerary practices and religious beliefs towardsthe end of the Neo-Elamite period [see plate 2].

Studies of funerary practices in general, and in the ancient Near East in particular, have established correlations between the way individuals are buried and their social context, including their social identity.[34] Further, if we follow the positivist approach of Binford, the specific characteristics of a burial, such as (1) type of burial, (2) preparation and disposition of the deceased's body, and (3) nature of the funerary goods, can be used to identify the level of social complexity that was involved (Binford 1972: 235; see also Tainter 1977: 322 in Forest 1983: 11; and Pearson 1999: 31). Thus, theoretically, social organization is manifested in a burial through indicators of collective input. That is, the higher the rank of an individual, the more impressive the evidence for collective mobilization would be. In addition, an intact burial presents a narrative of the ritual, funerary, and religious beliefs espoused by the community (Pearson 1999: 71). This second, perhaps more speculative, assertion calls for the reconstruction of religious beliefs from the material evidence present in the burial. Certain particular characteristics, such as the burial's orientation, its location in respect to the other burials and the living quarters of the community, the position of the deceased, or the type of burial goods, are not random, but are clues to the spiritual beliefs held by the community at large (Forest 1983: 12-13). In this respect, the burial may be seen as a provisional second home imbued with symbolic characteristics that can eventually be decoded (Pearson 1999: 3-11). Conversely, some elements of the symbolic language may be beyond our reach since they are no longer observable, not least because perishable materials such as wood, basketry work, or textiles, are rarely preserved.

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[34] For general studies see Champman, Kinnes, and Randsborg (1981) and Pearson (1999); for the ancient Near East in particular see 'Grab' in the *RlA*; for Mesopotamian burial practices in general see Campbell and Green (1995) and Forest (1983).

Apart from material remains, any interpretation of funerary beliefs and practices must also take account of textual documentation. The general outline of Mesopotamian funerary religious beliefs and related temple rituals compiled from a multitude of literary and administrative texts indicates that the social status of the deceased was supposed to be replicated in the underworld and that certain funerary goods may have be intended as gifts to the gods of the underworld.[35] A number of Elamite texts from the end of the Sukkalmah (c. 15000 BC) period found in a funerary context in the Apadana mound contain invaluable information regarding Elamite eschatological beliefs. In particular, the presence of concepts such as a final weighting and judgment of the deceased set these tablets apart in such a way that they stand "without parallel in all the literature of ancient Mesopotamia" (Bottero 1982: 394, Scheil 1916).[36] These documents refer to Inshushinak as the god of the underground and as the judge in charge of fixing the destiny of the dead (Steve 1987: text 25, n.

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[35] Beyond this general statement, the possibility that a systematic presentation of 'Mesopotamian religion' could be written seems to be beyond reach. The reasons given are most compelling: the limitation of available evidence, and the "problem of comprehension across the barriers of conceptual conditioning" (see Oppenheim 1977: 172).

[36] M.-J.Steve and H.Gasche place the funerary cave where this particular tablet was found at the end of the Sukkalmah period (Ville Royale XII, ca. 1500 BC); Linguistically, the script in the tablet is situated between the period of the Babylonian king Ammi-ṣaduqa (1646 BC) and the end of the Sukkalmah period (Stolper and Carter 1984: 31; Steve and Gasche 1996: 333).

157).[37] Middle Elamite inscriptions from the royal tomb at Haft Tappeh stipulate the amount of food (flour, beer, sheep) assigned to the six guards in charge of maintaining and repairing the installations of a building and of performing various rituals and funerary offerings related to the deceased Elamite king, Tepti-Ahar (Reiner 1973).

Neo-Elamite funerary practices as evidenced by funerary archaeological remains indicate the belief in some sort of existence after death.[38] This belief entails the metaphysical journey of the deceased to the underworld[39] and the ensuing judgment by the Annunaki gods. One of the duties of the living was to make periodic funerary offerings of food, drink and oil to deceased relatives. This understanding of death seems to follow longstanding beliefs developed in Mesopotamia throughout millennia (see Black and Green 1992: 27). Given however the fact that our information comes from limited samples of texts and from one specific location we have to be cautious about presuming that similar beliefs applied throughout Elam. Nevertheless, such funerary textsas we have from Elam do suggest that comparable attitudes towards death and the netherworld were shared, in the main, by the populations of Elam and Mesopotamia (see Scheil 1916; Vallat 1989: 46-47; Koch 1995).

The possibility that the Arjan burial can further our knowledge of late Neo-Elamite funerary practices in a truly substantial way is limited by the fact that the burial is, so far, one of a kind and that no excavations in the general vicinity of the tomb have been inititated.

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[37] Steve considers Inshushinak to be a counterpart to the Mesopotamian Nergal. Both happen to be the protectors of vegetation and the flock (Steve 1987: text 25, note 157).

[38] See Vallat 1989. In Mesopotamia, the words *gidim/etemmu* may refer to the person's spirit living in the underworld. Once a person dies, the last breath of one's life, the *etemmu/gidim,* becomes breeze and leaves for the underworld. The *gidim* however also has the potential to go back to persecute the living (see Black and Green 1992: 88) .

[39] This journey has been best described by literary texts such as the Gilgamesh Epic or the Descent of Ishtar (see Dalley 1989 and Leick 1991).

THE IDENTITY OF ARJAN

The Arjan tomb was found fortuitously in the fall of 1982 by the driver of a bulldozer who was leveling ground prior to the construction of the Marun (I) dam.[40] The Arjan burial lies close to the left bank of the Marun river, about 12 km to the north of the modern city of Behbahan, in the border region between the Khuzestan and Fārs provinces of Iran [plates 1, 2]. This region was one of the main gateways linking the Iranian highlands and Mesopotamia. Today two roads lead westwards across Khuzestan, one in the south via Ahwaz, the other in the north via Ram-Hormuz and Susa. Mahrūbān, the Persian Gulf port for Arrājan during the classical Islamic period (7th to 11th centuries AD), was a two-day journey away via Rīshahr.[41] The Behbahan plain, which is about 30 m above sea level, is separated from the central plain by an extension of the Zagros mountains reaching to the south. About 5 km north of Arjan the Zagros piedmont rises sharply to 900 m. The nearby mountains reach heights of more than 3,500 m and are capped with snow throughout the year. In addition, the river Marun cuts deeply into the plain, creating a natural boundary during the time of the spring and summer floods.

The burial itself was found in the foothill located north of the ancient city of Arrajān [see plate 3]. The observable remains of this city stand 8 km northeast of Behbahān in an area known as Argūn, near the southern bank of the Marun river

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[40] The construction of the Marun I dam was completed in 1992. The height of the dam is 203 meters (bedrock to crest) and the length of the dam crest is 340 meters (Emami et. al. 2003).

[41] There are ruins of a port-town about 17 km north of Bandar Daylām. To my knowledge, this area has not been surveyed so it is unknown whether there are Elamite remains apart from those associated with the port of Busher-Liyan.

(which is to be identified with the Medieval Tāb but also was known as in medieval times as the Jarâhîyah or Jarâhî river and the Kordestan river). According to Arab geographers, the river Marun has its source in the mountains south-west of Isfahân, at Al-Buurj, and reached the Persian Gulf to the west of Mahrubân (le Strange 1905: 270).[42] The site of the ancient medieval city of Arrajān covers an area of c. 1.5 X 2.5 k, and its vicinity is known by its Sassanian as well as its Islamic remains.[43]

II.1. Historical Identity

The ancient town of Arrajān was an important agricultural and commercial emporium during both the Sassanian and the Medieval periods. Medieval sources give alternative names for Arrajān, all of which contain the common component Qobād/Kavād (Rām-Qobād, Berām-Qobād, Abar-Qobād and Beh az Ahmed-e Kavād) which points to the Sassanian king Kavād I (484, 488-487 and 499-531 A.D.) who is said to have been the city's founder (Gaube 1973, 1986: 519). The city flourished after the Islamic conquest and became one of the centers of regional trade (well known for its linen production, soap, grape-syrup, date-gardens and olive oil). In 1085 A.D. the town was devastated by an earthquake[44] giving rise to the foundation of the present day regional center of Behbahān.[45]

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[42] West of Behbehan, in the Zeytun region, was an ancient tomb known as the Zahédé-Soujté. It was located next to a natural crevice in the rock from which sulphurous exhalations emanate, lightening the area during the night (Demorgny 1913: 109).

[43] In a hill near Arjan was a cave from which bitumen was taken. It was celebrated for its medicinal properties. In the town of Arrajān itself there was a well called the Bîr Shâhik whose water was said to never be exhausted (Le Strange 1905: 269).

[44] Other accounts ascribe the destruction of the town to Ismāʿīlīs or Assassins (Bosworth 1984: 165 n. 93).

[45] To the south of Arjan stands a prominent wall enclosing a square approximately 300 by 600 m. To the north, parts of a bridge across the Kordestān river have survived. Close above the head of the bridge, on top of a high conglomerate terrace where the Imāmzāda Rezā

According to Aurel Stein, who traveled in the region during the years 1932–36, the area were Arjan is situated was a major center in ancient times. "The town of Behbehan, [is situated in a wide plain of fertile alluvial soil, but scantily populated. . . . It is possible that the old road continued through the ancient site of Arrajān, which preceded Behbehan as a local center and emporium of trade down to medieval times. . . ." (Stein 1940: 82). The 10th-century Arabic geographers Muqaddasi and Ibn Hauqal described the Behbehan region as "the storehouse for Persia and Mesopotamia . . . an extremely pleasant city, rich in water, cereals, dates, grapes, olives, oil, lemons, and nuts. Summer and winter fruits are here harvested." (Stein 1940: 82).

II.2. Archaeological Surveys

Despite the considerable political and economic importance attached to Behbehan and its region during the Sassanian and classical Islamic periods archaeological surveys of the region have failed to discover any evidence of settlement belonging to the Neo-Elamite period (Nissen 1988: 275; see also Nissen and Redman 1971; Nissen 1976; Zagarell 1978: 119; and Carter 1984: 75).[46] According to archaeologist F. Towhidi, the presence of the Arjan burial near the west bank of the

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shrine lies and, separated from *Argūn* by a tract of land, lie the ruins of a pre-Islamic settlement. To the south there are remains of a Sassanian bridge and dam structure. Near the bridge, and above the southern bank of the river, can be found the remains of a castle. Other medieval pre-Islamic towns mentioned in the accounts of the Arab conquest (639-644 A.D.) are Jannāba (ruins near the present Bandar-e Ganāva on the Gulf), Rīshar (pre-Islamic Rēv-Ardashīr, ruins about 25 km southeast of Arjan on the northern bank of the Hendījan river) and Sīnīz (some 23 km southeast of Bandar-e Ganāva). Important Phartian rock releifs are also located 44 km to the north of Arrajān, in the Ting-e Sarvak valley (Vanden Berghe 1983: 28-32). For further information see Gaube's seminal study of the region (1986: 520).

[46] Donnald McCown, who excavated at Tal-e Ghazir (Ram Hormuz) also surveyed the area around Behbehan during the 1950's (Carter 1994: 68). I have been unsuccessful at finding any records of these surveys.

river indicates that we should look under the Sassanian and Islamic remains for any traces of an Elamite occupation.[47]

In 1812 Kinneir and his surveyor, Monteith, passed next to the ruins of *Aragian* on their way to Shiraz from Shustar (Kinneir 1813: 72). According to de Bode: "Half way between Behbehan and the river Kurdistan [Marun], are ruins over a considerable extent of ground [Arrejan]. These remains consist of kiln-burnt bricks, white mortar, and more or less elevated artificial mounds of earth. It was among them, I believe, that Sir John Macdonald Kinnier found a stone slab, with an arrow-headed inscription—a sure sign of remote antiquity" (De Bode 1845: 295-296). Unfortunately, the *stone slab* with the cuneiform inscription refered by De Bode is not mentioned by Kinneir in his *Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire.*

When H. J. Nissen surveyed parts of the Behbehan plain in 1970 he was aware that the region represented "the geographically easiest and best connection between the middle and lower plains of Khuzestan and the Marv Dashtt plain of Fārs" (Nissen 1976; 1988: 275; Nissen and Redman 1971). The results of the 1970 Nissen survey were confined to the plain within about 7 km of Behbehan itself.[48] The report mentions 59 sites ranging from the prehistoric times to the Islamic period but lacking any Elamite evidence (Nissen and Redman 1971: 48). Of these sites, 43 were inhabited in the Islamic period only; 9 Islamic sites were founded on earlier occupations; and only 4 locations showed evidence of prehistoric settlement dating to the 5th and 4th millennia, relating the area to both Susiana and Tall-i Bakun III, in Fārs (Nissen

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[47] Pers. comm.

[48] I have been unable to clarify if these surveys reached the Arjan archaeological remains.

1976).[49] The relative location of prehistoric sites such as Tepe Sohz and the surviving pattern of irrigation channels indicate that water from the river was brought to the plain by means of a partly open, partly tunneled canal which branches off the river higher up in the gorge (Nissen 1976: 277). The settlement pattern in the Behbehan plain can be thought of as a number of straight connected lines, which would seem to imply irrigation. Yet, as Zagarell points out, this pattern may be explained by positing that the center of the plain was often flooded and that the settlements had to be established around the flooded area (Zagarell 1978: 174).[50] North of Behbehan, preliminary surveys of Iron Age remains from the Middle Zagros territories of the Lurdagan, Khana Mirza, Chigha Khor and Shahr-e Kord plains are said to reveal ceramic parallels with Posht-e Kuh Luristan (Zagarell 1982, 1983).

In sum, the archaeological evidence from the general area where the Arjan burial was found is broadly characterized by Sassanian and Islamic constructions. Except for the Neo-Elamite burial at Arjan, no other Elamite remains have surfaced so far. On the other hand, it appears that the surveys that have taken place to date have not examined the entire area occupied by the extensive Arrajān ruins and its surrounding area.

II.3 Arjan and Hidalu

Based on the information provided by the Assyrian sources, three main urban centers existed in Elam during the neo-Elamite period: Madaktu, Susa and Hidalu.

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[49] South of the river Marun 37 sites were recorded; and opf these, 26 were inhabited in Islamic times alone period.

[50] Two Sialk III type sherds recovered from the Behbehan region indicate that contacts with the central plateau existed at least since the Godin Tepe V. Settlements become more numerous in the Bakun (IIe) B and A 1-4 periods (Zagarell 1978: 173).

Although many places have been proposed, the location of the cities of Madaktu and Hidalu remains uncertain.[51] A number of locations have been proposed for Hidalu, which appeared as *Ha-i-da-la* in the annals of Sennacherib and as *Hi-da-li / I-da-li,* in documents from Susa (Hinz 1975: 391). W. Hinz privileged the modern town of Behbehan as the location of ancient Hidalu. G. Cameron located Hidali somewhere along the Karun River (Cameron 1936: 165). J. Hansman places the "mountains of Hidalu" north-east of Behbehan (Hansman 1974: 108, n. 54). Duchesne identifies Huhnur/unar/Unar with Arjan/Arrajān, which he believes to be covered by the modern ruins of Behbehan, and places Hidalu in the area of Kuhgiluya, east and north of the Behbehan plain (Duchesne 1986: 66).[52] Finally, D. T. Potts, following de Miroschedji, places Hidalu between Behbehan and Ram Hormuz (Potts 1999: 272; 2005). Lack of textual and archaeological precision reveals this matter to be inconclusive (Potts 2005: 175) and calls for further surveys of the Behbehan region (Stronach 1999); while E. Carter recommends an examination of the pottery that is to be found on the ancient site of Arrajān (Carter 1994: 72).

The above suggestions rely on the interpretation of Assyrian , Elamite and Persian written sources for the location of Hidalu (see Vallat 1993: 96 and Stolper 2005 for references). The Assyrian sources refer to the seat of an Elamite kingdom since at least the beginning of the 7th century BC, located *ša kirib šadê ruqûti*, in the far away mountains. In addition, the Assyrian sources indicate that Hidalu (with the variants *Haidala, Hidali, Hâdalu*), was close to the city of Huhnur/Hunar/Unar.[53] As the Assyrian armies began to raid deep into western Elam, Hidalu became a refuge of the Elamite kings and it possibly also became the true political center of Elam at this time. So far is known, Hidalu never suffered direct Assyrian assault, even if Assyrian troops reached the border of the city. The political status of 7th century Hidalu also appears to have been closely associated with that of Madaktu and Susa. This situation seems to have continued during the first part of the 6th century BC, as indicated by four administrative documents found at Susa.[54] These consist of receipts for transactions made at Hidalu but issued on the authorization of an official based at Susa (Scheil 1907).[55]

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[51] Madaktu has been identified by P. de Miroschedji as Tepe Patak (Miroschedji 1986: 215). Tepe Patak, is a major archaeological site situated on the modern route between Andimeshk and Deh Luran. It is about 250 m. wide and 13m high, with a total surface of about 6 hectares. The identification of Madaktu with Tepe Patak (Rawlinson , de Mecquenem, de Miroschedji, Potts 1999b: 20, n. 31) has been questioned by Córdoba (Córdoba 1997) and challenged by Potts and others (Potts 1999b: 13, n. 3 and 22; Potts 1999: 272; Potts 2005). According to Potts, the site must lie north of Susa, between the Karkheh (Ulaya/Eulaios) and the Dez (Idide/Coprates) rivers. A more precise location depends on further research (Potts 1999a: 25).

[52] See Potts 2005 for a full discussion.

These tablets add little to our information regarding the specific location of Hidalu. Yet, they attest to the presence at Hidalu of a textile center participating in a trade network associated with Susa. The Persepolis Fortification Tablets (dated to between 504 and 494 BC) include further detail as to the location of Hidalu. Inter alia, these book-keeping tablets document the attest to the dispersal of foodstuffs from the royal storehouses located along the road between Persepolis to Susa.

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[53] Letter ABL 1311 is from Assurbanipal's reign and refers to Hunnuru (Hunnir or Hunnar) "at the border of Hidalu." The letter provides evidence for a route between Paršumaš and Bit-Bunakki. The route described went: Paršumaš-Hidalu-Hunnuru-Bubilu-Madaktu-[...-*k]a/l]ak*-Bit-Bunakki. According to Fuchs and Parpola, the stretch between Hidalu and Madaktu would roughly correspond to "one of the roads nowadays connecting Behbehan with Dezful" (Fuchs and Parpola 2001: 33-34).

[54] The general date of these documents may lie in the first half of the 6th century BC with a more precise date around 580 BC provided by Vallat (1998: 311) or around 570 BC provided by Tavernier (2004: 32).

[55] All texts after Scheil (1907): [Tablet 37, rev.4], Fragmentary tablet mentioning an inhabitant of Hidalu (*Idalura*); [Tablet 65], 1 mine and 20 siecles of red color *(harkaman)* where used (for dying?) at Hidalu, registered by the official Kuddakaka, dated Aiar month (April/May); [Tablet 69], Fragmentary tablet, a number of objects registered by the official Kuddakaka and supplied at Hidalu by Huban Nugash, son of Huban Ukra, dated Kisilimu month (Nov/Dec.); [Tablet 238], Fragmentary tablet, an individual with an Iranian name? (Išpugurda), from the *Zampegir* people receives a *tukli* at Hidali

Table III. Elamite Texts from Persepolis Mentioning Hidalu (Hallock 1969)

PFT Tablet Number	Locations mentioned and Itinerary	Sealing Numbers and Date	Relevant Content
35	Hidalu, Kesat	one unrecorded seal (23rd year)	Grain taken from Hidali to Kesat
200	Hidalu	64, 99, two more (unrecorded) (18th year)	Grain for the army deposited in storage at Hidali
666	Hidalu	9 (3rd month, 22nd year)	Sealed document delivered at Hidali
738	Hidalu	51 (22nd year)	Sealed document delivered at Hidali, (sealed at Hidali?)
Regular Monthly Rations			
749	Hidalu	201, two more (unrecorded) (27th year)	Beer delivered at Hidali (sealed at Hidali?)
842	Hidalu	Two (unrecorded)	Beer delivered at Hidali

		(25th year)	(sealed at Hidali?)
874	Hidalu	4 (3rd month, 21st year)	Beer for the silversmiths delivered at Hidali
1184	Hidalu	211, one unrecorded seal (?)	Beer - Sealed at Hidali
Regular Daily Rations			
1251	Hidalu	Two unrecorded seals (18th year)	Flour- Sealed at Hidali
1259	Hidalu	Two unrecorded seals (11th month, 23rd year)	Flour- Sealed at Hidali
1276	Hidalu	201, one unrecorded seals (11th month, 27th year)	Beer- Sealed at Hidali
Travel Rations Payments (Hallock's category Q)			
1398	From Susa to Kerman	84, plus unrecorded stamp seal (1st month, 23rd year)	Flour- Sealed at Hidali
1400	From Susa to Persepolis	84, 251 (5th month, 23rd year)	Flour- Sealed at Hidali
1402	From Susa to	? (5th month, 23rd	Flour-

	Persepolis	year)	Sealed at Hidali
1403	From Susa to Persepolis	? (7th month, 23rd year)	Flour- Sealed at Hidali
1404	From Sardis to Persepolis	201, plus unrecorded stamp seal (9th month, 27th year)	Flour- Sealed at Hidali
1405	From Susa to Persepolis	138, plus unrecorded seal (5th month, no year)	Flour- Sealed at Hidali
1406	From Susa to Persepolis	138, plus unrecorded seal (8th month, no year)	Flour- Sealed at Hidali
1407	From Susa to Persepolis	138, plus unrecorded seal (7th month, no year)	Flour- Sealed at Hidali
1542	From Persepolis to Susa	299 (1st month, 23rd year)	Beer- Sealed at Hidali
1571	To Persepolis	84, plus unrecorded stamp seal (5th month, 23rd year)	Grain, Sealed at Hidali
2057	From Susa to India/ Dasher	Two unrecorded seals	Providing rations for three Indian men going

			from Dasher through Hidali
Ordering Rations (Hallock's category T)			
1790	Hidalu	9 (17th year?)	Rations to be issued at Hidali
1848	Hidalu	2	Sesame to be taken to Hidali
1851	Hidalu, Kesat	20, 53 (26th year)	Grain deposit at Kesat. Ration to be issued at Hidali
Accounts (Hallock's category W)			
1994	Hidalu	203 (20th year)	provisions provided

According to the evidence of the Persepolis tablets, during the late 6th and early 5th century BC the town of Hidali accommodated substantial administrative facilities and storage units (such as were used to house large quantities of grain). The information provided by tablets 1400, 1402-1406 indicates that the town of Hidali was located between Susa and Persepolis and enjoyed close relations with, and perhaps stood in the vicinity of, the towns of Dasher and Kesat (above documents PFT 35, 1851, and 2057). These two towns, Kesat and Dasher, provide important points of reference for the relative location of Hidalu. In tablet 2057 three men make their way from Dasher to Hidalu. Dasher is identified by H. Koch as the 18th stop in the Persepolis-Susa highway, situated between Zila-Humban and Shurkutir, which is modern-day Masjid Soleiman (Koch 1986 and 1990: 200-202).[56] In tablet PFT 35 grain is taken from the storehouse of Hidalu to Kesat while in tablet PFT 1852 grain from Kesat is to be dispersed at Hidalu. Thus Kesat/Gisat appears to be located on the boundary between Elam and Persia (H. Koch 1990: 213-216).[57] In addition, five texts mentioning Hidalu and Kesat share the presence of two seals suggesting that the same individuals may have been involved in these transactions and, consequently, that both locations may have been administratively related (seals 20 and 53 on tablets 35, 352, 550, 1850, 1851).[58]

In sum, according to the foregoing textual evidence, the (royal) town of Hidalu, an urban center of Elamite power during the 7th century BC,[59] was actively participating in a commercial network administrated by Susa during the first half of the 6th century BC and remained an important center of trade and communications during the Achaemenid period (ca. 500 BC). Unfortunately, the texts fail to provide a specific location for Hidalu but only give an approximate sense of its position in relation to two other towns, Kesat/Gisat and Dasher. At all events, the distinction of the Arjan tomb and the adjacent Sassanian settlement can be said to underline the importance of the Behbehan region as an enduring candidate for the location of one of these towns. Finally, D.T. Potts has sounded a skeptical note regarding the hypothetical and inconclusive nature of this research (Potts 2005: 175). In fact, substantial new lignt on this topic is most likely to come from detailed archaeological surveys throughout the region, combined, af at all possible, with selected soundings in the most promising localities.

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[56] For a critical review of Koch's reconstruction of the 21 staging posts between Susa and Persepolis see Tuplin 1998.

[57] Kesat is mentioned in six other Persepolis Fortification Tablets (352, 534, 550, 1849, 1850, and 1996) and in the Ururu plaque from Persepolis.

[58] One of these two seals may have belonged to Mannuwish, who oversaw a grain deposit at Kesat during the years 21-26 (501/500-496/495 BC; (Garrison and Root 2003: 229).

[59] An interesting letter written in Hidalu by the Assyrian official Bel-epuš, points to the presence of a group of Babylonians in Hidalu during the time of king Tammaritu (653 BC; Leichty 1983).

II.4. Excavation of the Burial Chamber

In 1982 a bulldozer leveling the ground for the construction of a dam on the Marun river cut through part of a stone-built tomb located on the left bank of the river [see plate 4].[60] Archaeologists F. Towhidi and A. Khalilian, from the Iranian Office of Historical Remains, were sent to Arjan where, in the presence of the local authorities, proceeded to reveal a rectangular underground tomb chamber and to remove its contents. According to F. Towhidi, there were no architectural remains around the tomb. No further survey or excavation was undertaken of remains adjacent to the tomb (Towhidi and Khalilian 1982: 233).[61] The cleaning of the contents of the tomb was done in presence of the religious and civil authorities from Behbahan[62] and all the objects were packed and transferred to the National Museum of Iran.[63]

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[60] The driver noticed a cavity. He went inside and faced an underground chamber with a metal coffin inside. The authorities were then alerted. According to the original report by F. Towhidi and A. Khalilian, the bulldozer destroyed two large pottery jars lying on the surface of the burial. This surface also included burnt soil (Tohidi and Khalilian 1982: 233). One of the surface pots may have survived (see section dedicated to the objects found outside the grave).

[61] I am most grateful to the kindness of Mr. Towhidi for clarifying various aspects regarding the excavation of the Arjan tomb and its original setting.

[62] In addition to archaeologists F. Towhidi and A. Khlilian, the other individuals involved were: the governor Mr Jameh Darpour; Mr Dehghan of the Republican Guard Authorities; Mr. Naji Aleshaagh and Mr Torkazad, engineers with the water and electricity organization; The manager of the Islamic General Guidance Office in Khozestan and Behbahan; Mr. Naser Turkey Habib Abadi who is an Archaeologist; and the photographers of the Historical Athar Office Mr. Malik Araghi, Ali Abadi Hasas and Harndehi (Towhidi and Khalilian 1982).

[63] Since the discovery of the Arjan tomb a number Iranian scholars such as Mr. Ehsan Yaghmayi have attempted further examination of the Arjan tomb and vicinity but the information remains rather vague and, so far, none of this survey or excavations (?) has been made public (personal communication from Ali Mousavi).

II.5. The Burial Chamber: Analysis and Typology

The top of the rectangular burial chamber was found 1.10 meters below surface level. The chamber had a near east-west orientation. The interior of the chamber measured 2.50 m in length, 1.36 m in width and 0.90 m high and was covered with five heavy cap stones of various dimensions and shapes: (averages from east to west) slab 1: 0.52 x 2.20 m; slab 2: 2.04 x ? m; slab 3: 1.35 x ? m; slab 4: unknown; and slab 5: 1.30 x 160 m [see plate 5]. With the exception of a possible entrance on the eastern wall, all the walls were built of eleven layers of relatively regular rectangular stone slabs. The eastern wall seems not to have had a stone wall. The surface of the floor, the walls, and the upper edge of the chamber were plastered with gypsum.

The tomb contained a number of exceptional artifacts placed inside and outside a U-shaped (bathtub) bronze coffin. The objects found outside the coffin comprised ornate versions of household items: 10 chalices, one jar, one candelabrum stand, and one lamp —all cast in bronze— one exceptional beaker made in bronze and faience, a jar made in silver, and one sizable bronze bowl. Inside the coffin and next to the skeletal remains lying in a flexed position were various luxurious items of personal apparel: 98 gold bracteates that originally must have been sewn to a robe, cotton textile fragments folded pillow-like beneath the skull, a golden ring-like object deposited over the chest next to the left hand of the deceased, a small silver rod, and an iron dagger with bone hilt, silver foil, and gold and agate decorations lying near the left side of the skeleton. No pottery was present, a fact perhaps easily explained if one coniders the tomb was flooded and remained so for a considerable amount of time (see comments on the bathtub coffin).

Previous studies of the Arjan burial have stressed the highland-lowland dual composite aspect of this type of tomb construction (Majidzadeh 1990). The usage of stone for the side walls and the roof is foreign to the western Elamite region of Susiana but common in the Zagros highland region of Luristan. A short review of the particularities of Luristan funerary traditions in the Pusht-i Kuh was recently completed by B. Overlaet (Overlaet 2003: 62-68). The 121 tombs discussed by Overlaet present a number of characteristics most relevant for their connections with the Arjan burial [see plate 6].

The tombs were grouped in cemeteries and, since they were often re-used, the exact location of their entrance was marked at surface level. Examples from Chamhzi Mumah indicate that stone circles and sometimes one or more head stones marked the surface of the location of the burial chamber.[64] The burial chamber was situated at a depth between 0.30 and 0.70 m below the surface (Haerinck and Overlaet 1998: 3-6, ill. 1, fig. 5, pls. 7-9; Overlaet 2003: 62). The Luristan tombs were grouped in cemeteries but the Arjan burial appearsto have been an isolated phenomenon. Given the virtual absence of archaeological work defining the setting of the Arjan burial we have to reserve judgment as to the isolation of the interment. The presence in the Arjan tomb of two large jars at the surface level (situated 1.10 meters above the burial) may have served to indicate the presence of the actual burial chamber.

According to B. Overlaet "when a tomb was planned to be reused it was necessary to assemble an accessible entrance which would not destabilize the construction when it was reopened and which could be located by some sort of indication at the surface... The entrance to the tomb chamber was closed with one or two large stones, which were sometimes placed on a horizontal stone ('the threshold'), and between two vertical stones ('the doorposts')" (Overlaet 2003: 64) (see plate 7:11).[65] It is most significant that the Arjan burial chamber was built with three solid walls made of stones while leaving the eastern wall free. As in the case of examples from Luristan, this may suggest the original presence of a threshold and a doorstone on the eastern side. Unfortunately, this section of the chamber was disturbed by machinery at the time of its discovery making the presence of a threshold and doorposts just a likely possibility.

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[64] "How exactly the tombs were identified at the surface remains an open question" (Overlaet 2003: 63).

As at Arjan, some tombs in Luristan are covered with cap stones of irregular shapes. Large heavy cap stones covered the ceiling of the Arjan burial. Their weight and size indicate that their transportation and placement would have required a great degree of coordination and organization (Overlaet 2003: 63).

Most tombs from Luristan have no special floor surface. The few exceptions contain floors made of stone slabs or paving tiles (Overlaet 2003: 66). The materials used for the tomb construction and the building techniques used in Luristan depended probably on the local availability of the building materials and seem to have little significance as a chronological indicator. In addition, "there are no indications that stones were worked to adapt their size or shape" (Overlaet 2003: 66). In contrast, the walls of the Arjan tomb were made of regular, symmetrical, and parallel arrangements of stones. The angles of the chamber were also skillfully made. This, in conjunction with the plastering of the floors and walls, presents a marked departure from Luristan funerary architecture.[66] Instead, gypsum plastered walls and floor, and the symmetrical design of the tomb follow traditions associated with Elamite burial practices from western Elam, included Susiana and Ram Hormuz.

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[65] Some burials contain an entrance limited to the upper half of the wall (Pa-yi Kal or Bard-i Bal) (Overlaet 2003: 64).

Funerary evidence from the pre-Achaemenid sites of Tepe Bormi and Tall-i Ghazir, in the Ram Hormuz plain can be compared to those found at Susa (Ville Royale II and VR-Ap trench 5244, de Miroschedji 1981a; 1981b in Carter 1994: 70-71). The funerary goods are associated with the Neo-Elamite II phase (725/700-520 BC), with parallels to the Achaemenid Village I ware types (Carter 1994: 71). Burial L was apparently constructed with a lid made of a mud slab, one side was partially built of bricks[67] and walls covered with green-gray plaster. All the bodies were oriented with their heads facing south (Carter 1994: 71).

The presence in Arjan of an underground stone-built funerary chamber coated with gypsum plaster represents a significant departure from the traditional architectural wisdom of western Elam. For centuries—whether at Susa, Tchogha Zanbil or Haft Tappeh— underground funerary chambers were built with a characteristic backed brick radial vault and, at least for those of monumental proportions, coated on the inside with gypsum. The building of brick chambers required craft expertise,[68] available material, and fidelity to a continuing funerary tradition. Many of the funerary vaulted tombs from Susa were provided with an entrance that allowed for a multiplicity of burials perhaps suggesting the the presence of family mausolea.[69]

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[66] The cist tombs from Ilam, in the Pusht-i Kuh, include rectangular individual cist tombs built with stone slabs. Except for one tomb (out of 16 so far published), they were all oriented east-west; An Iron Age IIB-III has been suggested (Overlaet 2003: 17-18).

[67] The brick size (9.5 x 39-40 x 39-40 cm) is comparable to the ones appearing on burials 763 and 639 (Ville Royale II level 7B; Miroschedji 1981a: 41, in Carter 1994: 71).

[68] Most of the surviving examples of smaller tombs in western Elam were roofed with corbelled vaults. Gypsum mortar is usually used between the bricks.

In sum, the Arjan burial combines two types of funerary traditions. In its usage of stone versus mud brick the tomb follows traditions attested in the Zagros mountains of Luristan. On the other side, the gypsum plastered walls and floor, and the symmetrical design of the tomb follow traditions associated with Elamite burial practices from western Elam, included Susiana and Ram Hormuz. The significance of this new type of funerary architecture, which can be said to be characterized by a combination of highland-lowland traditions, should be applied with some caution since we know nothing or little about first millennium funerary practices from the Behbehan region, the central Zagros highlands,[70] or Fārs.[71] There is however no doubt the technique of building a stone walled chamber, coating it with plaster, and covering the tomb with large cap stones involves particular skill, much organization and manpower.[72] This, in addition to the luxurious items found inside the tomb, suggest that its occupant enjoyed a status of wealth and high rank (Majidzadeh 1990: 131-144).

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[69] These tombs have not yet been published; only a brief description appeared on the various articles by R. Ghirshman 1964, 1965a, 1965b, 1966b, 1967, 1968b, and 1970.

[70] North of Behbehan, a preliminary survey of Iron Age remains from the Middle Zagros territories of Lurdagan plain, Khana Mirza plain, Chigha Khor and Shahr-e Kord plains have not disclosed evidence of funerary practices (Zagarell 1982).

[71] The evidence from Fārs pertains only to a cluster of isolated burials from Tall-i Malyan which further offer some indication of the presence of a nomadic population in the region during the first half f the first millennium BC (see burial 47 from EDD, Carter 1994: 66).

[72] According to B. Overlaet there seems to be a direct relationships between a more substantial investment of time and effort in the burial construction and the social status of the most valuable burial goods inside. The examples from the Iron Age III cemetery at Chamahzi Mumah and tomb 10 at Bard-i Bal (perhaps reused from Iron Age I down to Iron Age III) may support this idea (Overlaet 2003: 63 and 556).

II.6. The U-Shaped 'Bathtub' Coffin

Inside the burial chamber there was a U-shaped bronze coffin measuring 132 x 60 x 60 cm [see plate 7] made of two separate halves joined by two stays riveted to the body. The bottom of the coffin and its overhanging ledge are also fastened to the main body in the same fashion [plate 7]. Each end of the coffin has two ribbed pairs of handles riveted to the coffin just below the rim [figure 8:1]. Some pieces of decayed rope were found tied to the handles. The lid itself consists of a bronze U-shaped sheet with a separate band riveted around its edge as a rim. This band still shows at least three registers of incised decoration representing buds and lotus flowers running parallel to the edge of the lid [figures 8:3, 8:4].[73] Each end of the lid has a single bronze handle rivetted to the surface and aligned with the long axis of the coffin.

The U-shaped coffin found in Arjan shares many typological features with other coffins, which, given their similarity to nineteenth century bathtubs, are commonly known in the literature as "bathtub" coffins. These coffins or sarcophagi were made of clay or bronze, with straight sides, rounded at one end and squared-off at the other. They could also have a pair of handles at either end. There are hundreds of terracotta counterparts to the bronze 'bathtub' coffins. Their geographical extent reaches all the way from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. Their chronological range is difficult to interpret. In Elam, bathtub type coffins made of clay are well attested as early as the Sukkalmah period (de Mecquenem 1980: 29, see fig. 12, pg.

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[73] I am most appreciative to John Curtis for looking over and confirming these details.

134).[74] Bathtub clay coffins continued to be used during the Achaemenid period[75] and even down to the Parthian period (Zorn 1993: 220).[76]

The particular type of bronze coffin found in Arjan has been found to share close analogies with a number of coffins made during the Neo-Assyrian period which are ascribed to the second half of the 8th century and the first half of the 7th century BC (ca. 750-650 BC; Curtis 1983: 86). These bathtub bronze coffins were almost certainly made by a single workshop located in Assyria[77] and have been described as "made from two sheets of bronze hammered into shape and joined together in the middle of the long side. The joints are concealed by vertical strips of bronze applied inside and out and held in position by rivets. At either end of the coffin there are two heavy bronze handles, set just below the overhanging ledge" (Curtis 1983: 85). As for the location where these bathtub coffins may have been manufactured, Curtis believes that these strongly Assyrian influenced coffins must have been made either in metropolitan Assyria or in one of its regional satellites (Curtis 1983: 93).[78] As indicated by the similarities of manufacture, the Arjan bathtub bronze coffin belongs to the family of bronze coffins from Nimrud, Dailaman, Ur, Ziwiye and Zinjirli. Given that we cannot rely on the alleged authenticity or on the reported origin of the Dailaman[79] and Ziwiye[80] samples, the examples from Nimrud, Zinjirli, and Ur will serve as guidelines in which to establish a comparative analysis of the evidence. Table IV below illustrates the main characteristics of these bronze bathtubs and includes other U shaped bronze and oval terracotta bathtub type coffins found at Susa and Haft Tappeh, a discussion of their similarities and related implications ensues.

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[74] Such coffins can be horizontally grooved as well as flat sided. Interestingly, in all the examples mentioned by R. de Mecquenem, both under the central courtyard and in the eastern sector of the Achaemenid palace, the terracotta bathtubs were found "renversés" (de Mecquenem 1922: 118-119, fig. 1; 1980: 21). This would indicate that the original purpose of these bathtubs was not to be used as funerary receptacles into which the deceased's body was deposited but as instant, roofed, funerary spaces. At Haft Tappeh a pottery sarcophagus measuring 0.47 m high, 1.55x 0.59 m at the rim and 1.32 x 0.55 at the base was found on the western edge of the Temple Complex (Negahban 1991: 22, plate 19A). A thick rope made of palm fiber and bitumen may have been used as internal structure to reinforce the walls; this coffin had a lid and was not inverted. In a related area, a number of large pottery jars big enough to contain the body of a child were found lying nearby. There is also an example of a large jar "enclosing the body within the broad open mouth of the jar" (Negahban 1991: 22). In brief, this would indicate that the original purposes of many of these bathtubs was not to be used as funerary receptacles into which the deceased's body was deposited but as small, readily available roofed "tombs".

[75] What follows is a list of sites arranged geographically from west to east where bathtub coffins have been reported. Tell en-Nasbeh, Tell-el Far'an, Tell el-Mazar, Megiddo, Shechem, and perhaps Dothan. The stratigraphy and associated finds suggests a late 8th century down to the 6th— Neo-Babylonian period (ca. 586-539 BC)—and early 5th centuries (Zorn 1993: 219). Jordan near Amman, dated to the 7th century BC (Harding 48 ff. Pl.6. 47; see also Stern 8). Carchemish (Woolley 1939: 21-37). Til Barsip (Thureau-Dangin 1936: 76-78). 42 samples are reported from Babylon (Ruther 1926: 212-234); 43 samples in Nippur (McCown, Haines and Hansen 1967: 119; Gibson 1975: 74-75; Gibson 1978: 70-71; McCown 1978: 54); 3 samples in Tell al-Laham (Safar 1949: 161-163). Over 150 samples from Ur (Woolley 1962: 52-87). 21 samples from Uruk (Boehmer 1987: 3; Finkbeiner 1984: 109; Nöldeke, Heinrick and Schott 1933: 24; Rau 1987: 246); 39 samples from Ashur (Haller 1954: 4, 54-58). One sample from Khirbet Qasrij (Curtis 1989: 50); 3 samples at Nimrud (Oates 1957: 37-38; Oates and Oates 1958: 153-157; Mallowan 1966: 114-116); Bahrain (Glob 1954: 167-168; 1956: 172-173; Boucharlat 1995: 1349); For details see Zorn 1993: 219-220.

[76] According to Strommenger the U-shaped coffins originated in the Assyrian heartland, as they are attested since the Middle Assyrian periods, and spread to southern Mesopotamian during the 8th century and down to the 4th century BC (Strommenger 1964: 170-171). A provoking question arises in regard to the possible genesis of this characteristic U-type of coffin. One may wonder if, ultimately, this shape evolved out of traditional underground stone burials which, as we have seen from the Luristan examples, were made with one straight side in order to allow for an entrance to the burial.

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[77] Although 'I am bound to admit that the case is far form proven' (Curtis 1983: 93).

[78] However the presence of similar but not identical and considerably smaller examples from Anatolia dating to the Hittite period might indicate an earlier date and different origin for them (Kosay and Akok 1966: pl 34; pls. 7 107).

[79] This is reported to be the property an antiquities dealer in Cologne (Curtis 1983: 85).

[80] The circumstances of the 'Ziwiye' finds and the authenticity of some of the objects found associated with the bathtub coffin have been questioned and should be viewed with great caution (Muscarella 1977: 197-219; 2000: 76-81). The Ziwiye coffin is said to have contained the well known treasure associated with this site (Godard 1950: 13-18; Wilkinson 1963; 274--284; Curtis 1983: 85). An additional bronze coffin with lead cladding, measuring ca. 1.35 m in length is on exhibit at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. The latter coffin was purchased in eastern Anatolia.

Table of U-shaped Bronze (and Clay) "Bathtub" Coffins

Location	Dimensions (L, W, H)	Dates / Decoration	References
Ur [81] - PG1[82] - PG2[83]	PG1: 1.123 x 0.63 x 0.58 PG2: 1.113 x 0.57 x 0.54	Late 8th to early 7th century BC Chased decoration on vertical strip representing goats standing on rosettes[84]	Woolley/Mallowan 1956: 113 Pl. 17; Barnett 1956: 115; Moorey 1982: 260; Curtis 1983:92.
Zinjirli[85]	1.29 x 0.62 x 0.595	Pre 670 BC [86] Plain	Van Luschan and Andrae 1943: 118-119, plate 57; Curtis 1983: 86
Arjan	1.32 x 0.60 x 0.60	Chased decoration on the lid representing lotus and bud friezes	

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[81] Both coffins lay inside a brick vault whose walls were probably built up against a square wooden inner chamber (Curtis 1983: 89).

[82] The grave of a woman containing a glazed pottery jar, 3 gold earrings, a bronze bracelet, 2 triangular bronze fibulae, 3 strings of beads, and a fragment of linen textile (Curtis 1983: 89).

[83] Female grave containing 2 glazed pottery jars, a gadrooned bronze bowl (15.5 cm diam., 3.5 cm ht.), a wooden bowl, a gold earring, a number of strings of beads, a bronze mirror, remains of a wooden box, remains of a basket (Curtis 1983: 90-91).

[84] This motif is unmistakably Assyrian (Curtis 1983: 85).

[85] Made of copper for the body and of bronze for the handles; This bathtub was found in the northeast wall of room L6, in the northwestern part of the city hill. The handles were made in bronze (2.8 x 19.5 cm) with riveted rosette-shaped attachments (van Luschan and Andrae 1943: 171, S 3809 and pg. 118, plate 57).

[86] The Zinjirli example is plain; it predates 670 BC when Esarhaddon destroyed the site (van Luschan and Andrae 1943: 118 ff. plate 57; Curtis 1983: 86).

Nimrud Three Bronz Coffins[87]	1.3 m in length (no further dimensions found)	Post Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727)	Curtis 1995: 21; Damerji 1999: 4; Oates 2001: 86 and 202
Luristan, nea Khorramabac	1.80 x 0.87 x 0.55	Unexcavated find	Press release on 5/14/2005[88]
Susa	Inverted clay coffins	Apadana, Central courtyard, under the Achaemenid palace. Old Elamite period.	R. de Mecquenem 1980: 29

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[87] Three bathtub bronze coffins were found inside the antechamber of one of the vaulted underground burial crypts (Tomb III) to the Assyrian queen Mullissu-mukannišat-Ninua, wife of Assurnasirpal II and mother of Shalmaneser III (Damerji 1999: 4). The bones of at least 13 individuals were recovered from inside the three bronze coffins, all representing secondary deposition. Coffin 1 contained the bones of a 20 to 29 year old woman together with a fetus and four children aged between 3 months and 11 years. Coffin 2 contained the skeleton of an 18 to 20 year old woman, together with a 6 to 12 year old child. Coffin 2 also yielded a breathtaking amount of precious objects consisting of 449 separate items, the gold and silver alone weighing some 23 kg. The most recent inscribed object in the tomb is a 15 mina duck weight of the time of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC). Coffin 3 contained the skeletons of five adults, three men and two woman (J. and D. Oates 2001: 86). "The coffins themselves are made of riveted sheets of bronze and are a late 8th century type, rounded at one end and squared-off at the other, with double handles at both ends; they are surprisingly small, only 1.3 m in length" (J. and D. Oates 2001: 86; see figure 10:20). J. and D. Oates suggest that the tomb of Mullissu must have been emptied before or early in the reign of Adad-nerari III (810-783 BC), and that the re-internments must have occurred later than the time of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC) (see J. and D. Oates 2001: 86 and 202).

[88] According to the press release, the bronze coffin contained a skeleton with a gold mask. www.iranain.ws/irannews/ publish/ printer 6842 .shtml.

Haft Tappeh	clay coffin 1.55 x 0.59 at the rim 1.32 x 0.55 at the base 0.47 m deep	Area D XVII Thick ropes made of palm fiber soaked in natural bitumen encircled the clay sarcophagus perhaps as reinforcement; Middle Elamite period	Negahban 1991: 22, plate 19, fig. A
Susa	Inverted clay coffin 1.2 to 1.4 m. length; 0.5 to 0.6 m wide by 0.5 m deep	East sector of the Apadana, northern area, 2.5 m below the surface where a number of clay bathtub coffins. Dating is uncertain.	R. de Mecquenem 1922: 118
Susa[89]	Bronze coffin 1.65 x 0.96 m at the rim 1.29 x 0.66 m. at the base depth of 0.56 meters	Achaemenid Persian burial.	J. de Morgan 1905: 29-58.

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[89] The coffin was found broken into pieces but a reconstruction indicated that, according to de Morgan, it was probably originally made "d'une seule pièce," one large single bronze sheet (de Morgan 1905: 37, fig. 67). It had a north-south orientation. The interior of the sarcophagus contained the skeleton of what seems to be a high statute elderly woman measuring more than 1.60 m. The high status is indicated by the presence of two alabaster

The design, measurements, and manufacture of the Arjan, Ur, Zinjirli, and Nimrud bathtubs [see figures 9:1, 9:2] indicate that they were almost certainly made by the same or closely associated workshops. There is however a number of small differences distinguishing the more elaborated Arjan coffin from the other examples. (1) The double side handles of the Arjan coffin were made with a characteristic vertical ribbed surface, on the exterior surface, and a smooth surface on the interior (plate xxiii);[90] (2) The Arjan coffin is the only one that appears to have retained a lid. Examination of various fragments of the lid by this author has revealed that part of a fragment bears a chased lotus-and-bud decoration.[91] This decoration, which seems to develop in three bands or registers along the edge of the lid, is predominantly Assyrian (Hermann and Curtis 1998: 109 and 117; Curtis and Reade 1995). The association of bands of lotus-and-bud with a coffin lid voices a suggestive aspect of funerary religious beliefs; (3) Chronologically, the undisputable frame provided by the Nimrud examples[92] and the stylistic analysis by J. Curtis (1983) provide a time frame for their manufacture of the second half of the 8th to the first half of the 7th century BC, which

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vases, necklaces, bracelets, amulets, pearls, earrings, two silver coins dated to the middle of the fourth century BC, and a variety of small jewelry most likely originally attached to a cloth. Most interesting was the presence of a silver bowl of 14.8 cm diameter x 4.4 cm high and 589 grams in weight. Its design is geometrical with a central rosette of 16 petals.

[90] The handles of the Ur bathtubs are plain. I have been unable to gather information regarding the type of handles espoused by the other bronze coffins.

[91] I am grateful to John Curtis for kindly helping me to corroborate the identity of this motif.

[92] As indicated by J. Curtis, the chronology of the Ur bathtubs is not the source of contention but, like the Arjan coffin, the date of the graves in which they were buried (Curtis 1983: 87). Initially L. Woolley attributed the graves to the period 700-650 BC (1926: 379) and later to the Achaemenid Persian period (Woolley 1962: 55-56, and 68). Barnett placed the burial in the Neo-Babylonian period (Barnett 1956: 115). Moorey however went along with Wooley and located them in the Achaemenid period (Moorey 1982: 261). Finally, J. Curtis, after a review of the archaeological context of the find and the burial goods, settles for a date in the first half of the 7th century BC indicating there is no evidence that the grave-pits were dug in the Neo-Babylonian or Achaemenid periods (Curtis 1983: 92-93).

obviously does not preclude the fact that the coffins could be used much later; (4) Where known, the identity of the buried and the type of burial goods indicate these individuals were associated with members of the royal elite. In Ur they may have be two *entu*-priestesses who lived in the *giparu* (Weadock 1975: 112).[93] In Nimrud the two bathtub coffins from Tomb III contained the bodies of members of the royal family and eunuchs (J. and D. Oates 2001: 87).

The implications of the previous examination of the material suggest that indeed, the Arjan bathtub coffin must have been made in close association with the same workshop that manufactured the Nimrud, the Ur, and Zinjirli coffins.[94] This workshop seems to have had its production center in the Assyrian court, serving elements of the elite. The presence of an Assyrian type coffin in Arjan, invites us to articulate a number of questions regarding the presence of this particular coffin type in the Elamite realm and its relationship with traditional Elamite funerary customs. The evidence provided indicates that the usage of terracotta bathtub-style coffins was a relatively extended funerary practice adopted by a number of cultures. The presence at Susa and Haft Tappeh of oval-shaped and bathtub-shaped clay coffins suggests the practice itself of burying inside a bathtub type coffin should not be seen as necessarily atypical with respect to Neo-Elamite funerary traditions. What is certainly atypical, though, is that the manufacture and design of the Arjan coffin closely follows Assyrian bronze-coffin manufacturing traditions. What circumstances led to the adoption of a coffin type that was so clearly associated t with royal Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian elites will be a question for further exploration in this dissertation.

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[93] The graves were built into the ruined south-west wall of the *giparu* built by the Kassite king Kurigalzu around 1400 BC. The *giparu* was a sacred building for the dwelling of the *entu*-priestesses. The priestess were always of royal blood, the daughter or sister of the king. Their religious functions entailed participation in rituals which include daily prayers, the caretaking of the goddesses, and the cult of former *entus*. Another function of the *entus* was the management of vast states belonging to the *giparu* (see Weadock 1975). Individual cities such as Ur and Uruk were strongly pro-Assyrian. Assyrian kings sent gifts to the temples at Ur and Assyrian troops were dispatched under Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal to relieve their governors from close danger (Brinkman 1965: 258).

[94] The Zinjirli coffin, although made of copper, shares dimensions and workmanship with the other coffins.

II.7. The Skeleton[95]

Because of its prolonged exposure to water, the skeleton inside the small 132 x 60 x 60 cm coffin had decayed to the point that only the skull, thigh and arm bones remained at the time of the discovery.[96] The relative position of the bones suggested a fetus-like arrangement with the head on the eastern side of the coffin. While the sex of the skeleton could no longer be determined on osteological grounds, it has been inferred from the associated material, including both, the presence of a dagger and the Elamite inscription engraved on four objects mentioning Kiddin-Hutran, in addition to the absence of any acoutrements traditionally associated with females (i.e. hair pins, necklaces), that the body was that of a male.

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[95] I am most grateful to Professor F. Towhidi for this information.

[96] These remains were transferred to the National Museum of Iran.

OBJECTS INSIDE THE SARCOPHAGUS

Thus far we have studied the type of burial and the type of sarcophagus present at Arjan. As we have seen, the Assyrian-type coffin contained the remains of a high status individual. In addition, the bronze coffin enclosed a number of precious objects (a dagger, a golden ring, and a small silver tube) and cotton textile material decorated with golden bracteates. The specific location of these objects with respect to the body inside the coffin can be determined with certain reservation. At some point water crept into the tomb to a height of 55cm, just below the height of the coffin. The coffin must have been elevated from the floor level allowing the lid to slide below—which is how it was originally found. It is therefore possible that at some point the water also penetrated inside the coffin, the lighter objects moving to the higher levels of the coffin, therefore changing the original position of the objects inside.

II.8. TEXTILES AND GOLDEN BRACTEATES

II.8.1. Context of the Find

An undetermined number of textile remains were folded in layers and placed inside the bronze coffin. Their original location and relationship to the skeleton and related funerary goods remain a matter of guesswork. Based on statements made by the first investigators many textiles were found crumpled at the end of the coffin, next to the bent feet of the skeleton. There is also reference to some fragments of fabric folded beneath the skull (Tohidi and Khalilian 1982: 261). The existence of more textiles can also be deduced from the presence of large quantities of gold-made bracteates distributed in the vicinity of the skeleton's torso. They may have been originally sewn to a fabric covering the upper body of the deceased. Examination of the quantity, type, condition, and properties of the textiles became possible after their transportation to the National Museum of Iran. Although mud was found intruding on all the textile fragments, those pieces that had originally been folded had resisted better the external environmental changes and the effects of chemicals from the bronze coffin.

II.8.2. Cotton Textiles from Arjan

A total of twelve pieces of textiles were initially collected (not including a number of carbonized fragments). Analysis of the fabrics identified the material as cotton (Mo'taghed 1982: 84).[97] No evidence of dyes was detected on the textiles.

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[97] In between the layers, there were remains of a delicate dark brown string. This thread was completely dry, brittle and carbonized. It is made of twisting fibers with a texture

According to various methods of manufacture and differences in the density of the threads, four different types of textiles were identified; only three of these could be unfolded and carefully studied.

Table V. Textile Remains from Arjan

	TEXTILE I	TEXTILE II	TEXTILE III
Material	cotton	cotton	cotton
Length	66 cm	Unknown (remains of 31 cm)	unknown
Width	ca. 43 cm	57 cm recovered	34 cm recovered
Thread[98] structure	Simple	Simple	Simple
Thread density	19-23 warps[99] per cm 20-22 wefts per cm	17-19 warps per cm 22-24 wefts per cm	21-26 warps per cm 26-32 wefts per cm
Directions of warp and weft	warp in direction of the frills, weft	Unknown (because the fringes are gone)	Unknown (because the

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like a rope. The width of each fiber is about 6 to 7 mm. The material could not be identified (Mo'taghed 1982: 103, fig. 44).

[98] A thread is a-string like length of material made up of two or more fibers or strands of spun cotton, flax, silk, etc. twisted together and used in sewing.

[99] Warp is the name given to the threads running lengthwise in the loom and crossed by the weft or woof. Weft is the name given to the threads woven back and forth across the warp.

	orthogonal to it		fringes are gone)
Spin direction	S shape twist, 2 ply thread (warp and weft)[100]	S shape twist	S shape twist, 2 ply thread (warp and weft)

Textile I is the largest and most beautiful sample of all the Arjan clothing remains [plate 10]. It was found folded in a bundle that was 16 x 16 cm in size. After unfolding, and the separation of the layers, it was noticed that fringes and frills were completely preserved on two sides of the cloth. Since the middle part of the cloth had perished, only one of the sides of the cloth could be assessed with confidence to a length of 66 cm. Furthermore, the cloth supported completely distinguishable fringes which were decorated with frills supporting pairs of embroidered eight petal rosettes joined to the middle of frills between two untwisted wefts (figure 2; Mo'taghed 1982: 98);[101] Textile II was folded in 8 layers and was laid inside a piece parts of which were completely carbonized [plate 11]. The preserved remains supported fringes at the right angles but no trace of embroidered rosettes (Mo'taghed 1982); Textile III had no fringes preserved [plate 11] and it was impossible to determine its original dimensions (Mo'taghed 1982: 118).

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[100] The direction in which the thread is spun, whether it is to the left (S spin, from upper left to lower right) or to the right (Z spin, that is from upper right to lower left). Barber suggests the difference lies in the way a right-hander handles a spindle and the ways the spindle rolled in a free suspended movement or, as in Egypt, down along the thigh (Barber 1991: 67).

[101] According to Mo'taghed, the technique of making the rosettes seems to have involved a resin-like glue that held the threads of the rosette together (Mo'taghed 1982: 56, pictures 39-43).

Based on the previous information, it can be stated that the Arjan coffin contained a minimum of twelve individual pieces of textiles, three of which were studied in detail in the laboratory by S. Mo'taghed. These textiles were made of cotton and belonged to at least three different types of individual clothing. Textiles II and III are too damaged to give us any indication of their dimensions and function other than that they were made of cotton. Textile I, the piece with the frills and embroidered rosettes, measured 66 cm by a minimum of 43 cm [plate 10]. In addition, given the placement of bracteates inside the coffin, we have to include a fourth type of clothing decorated with golden rosettes and circular bracteates which originally must have covered the upper part of the body. The assumption can be made that these individual pieces of textiles were personal garments and shrouds woven in cotton belonging to the individual buried inside the tomb.

Two main characteristics of the textile material found in the Arjan tomb are of the utmost significance for the history of Elamite and ancient Near Easter textiles: the type of material used (cotton) and the type of recognizable clothing (a garment or shroud containing a fringe that included decorative embroidered rosettes and an upper garment containing golden bracteates). The ensuing discussion will first concentrate on the nature of the fiber (cotton) and its introduction into the Near East. A discussion of Neo-Elamite textiles and garments will ensue.

II.8.3. Production and manufacture of cotton textiles

Three general aspects involved in the production of cotton can be said to have predetermined the geographical diffusion of this fiber and its associated craft. (1) Cotton is a shrub-like plant growing usually as a perennial which needs much water, moderate weather and heat. The high demands that the cotton plant places on specific climate and irrigation determines where this crop can be grown (Berger 1969); (2) The difficulty of having to organize and train a large labor force to break the soil, to sow and maintain the crop, and harvest the cotton is the chief factor restricting the production of cotton to agrarian based societies; (3) In addition to the physical hardship necessary to remove the cotton from the whole boll the technology of cotton differs substantially from that of wool in that it requires the ability to clean the fiber by separating the cotton from any foreign matters including the seed (ginning); Furthermore, the spinning technique requires different types of spindles; "the hairs of cotton are so short and delicate as to require a special method of spinning, namely with a small, light spindle fully supported so as not to put weight on the half-formed tread and break it" (Barber 1991: 33; see also Grant 1954: 449). Thus, given the delicate nature of the fiber, tension is critical in spinning cotton, which is why spindles weighing an ounce or less are required.[102] In other words, a heavy spindle may be helpful with long staple wool (perhaps 100 to 150 grams) but is useless for spinning short fibers such as cotton, flax tow, or short wool (Barber 1991: 52).[103] In short, successful production of cotton presents a number of concrete geographic, climatic, and social challenges which determine where this plant can be grown.[104] This may perhaps explain why large scale cultivation of cotton in Mesopotamia or Iran took some time to take hold[105] and why its presence in the archaeological and textual records may reflect the existence of trade networks linking production centers with areas in Iran and Mesopotamia.

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[102] Using such equipment the hand-spinners of India were able to stretch a single pound of cotton into well over 200 miles of thread, a feat not possible on the best of modern machinery (see Barber 1991: 43 with references). The smallest spindle whorls on record, as small as 8 mm in diameter and under a gram in weight, were those used in the Middle East during the Islamic period (Barber 1991: 51).

[103] "It is just this measurement of weight that excavators have generally failed to publish" (Barber 1991: 52). A well kept record of spindle-whorls would provide valuable information about different types of thread and /or fiber used.

[104] Long before the arrival of the Europeans cotton was a well developed native crop of many cultures of the Americas, including Maya, Inca, Aztec, and the southwest of present-day United States. Archaeological evidence from Peru indicates that cotton was grown there

II.8.4. On the origin and the spread of cotton in the ancient Near East

Cotton was produced by the domestication of fibers attached to the seeds of four cotton species, in particular those of the genus *Gossypium* of the mallow family (Smith and Cothren 1999: 16-17; Barber 1991: 32). Archaeological evidence indicates that this transformation took place in the Indus valley. This is confirmed by the presence of cultivated cotton remains in the third millennium BC sites of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro,[106] and in the second millennium sites of Mehrgarh, Shahi, Tump, Nevasa, Hulas, Chandoli, and Loenbar 3 (Gulati and Turner 1928; Smith and Cothren

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since about 2500 BC (Bird and Mahler 1951/52, in Berger 1969: 103). The introduction of non-native cotton and slave labor by the first European settlers in the south of the United States and Brazil revolutionized world economic and social history (Berger 1969: 74-75). With the mechanization of the cotton industry, and the invention of the ginning machine in particular (1793), cotton became the number one textile throughout the world (at the end of the 18th century only 4% of the world's total textile consumption was cotton, a century latter this figure had climbed to 78.6 %; Berger 1969: 12).

[105] Cotton seeds have found in a 5th century AD context in the Sassanian city-oasis of Merv, in present day Turkmenistan. The city of Merv appears to have been founded by Cyrus the Great (559-530) when this region was part of the eastern Achaemenid empire (see http ://www.thebritishmuseum. ac.uk/ane/anereexmerv.html; April 2005). The earliest attested evidence for the cultivation of cotton in ancient Iran (Middle Persian *panbag; katān*; or in Isfahan *kolūza*) comes from the 10th century A.D. These sources mention the presence of cotton manufacturing centers throughout the country: Nīšapūr, Ray, Tabarestān, Amol, Jebāl, Isfahan, Suštar, Kūzestān, Tawwaz, and Azerbaijan. Among the most famous manufacturing textiles were the karbās cottons produced in Isfahan (Ehlers and Parsa 1989: 334-335). Five fragments of cotton textiles dating possibly from the 3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD were found in the At-Tar caves (Fujii et al. 1996: 145; Fujii 1987: 217).

[106] This evidence may reach back to the Neolithic period if the cotton seeds found in Mehrgarh are indeed attributed to a compartmented building of period II. In view of this new evidence from Mehrghar some authors have suggested that cotton was perhaps domesticated in the Kachi plain of central Baluchistan, several millennia before the rise of the Indus Civilization (Moulherat, Tengberg, Haquet and Miller 2002: 1398).

1999: 21). During the third and second millennia BC cotton seems to have remained very much an exotic foreign textile in the ancient Near East. There is however one indication that cotton textiles made their way from India to the west at an exceptionally early date. At Dhuweila, a site in eastern Jordan, fibers and impressions of Z-twisted yarns woven cotton fabric were found in a fifth or fourth millennium BC context (Betts et al. 1994). But it is most likely that the Dhuweila cotton was imported from elsewhere "perhaps from the Indian subcontinent" (Moulherat et al. 2002: 1399). Interestingly, a recent study of the textiles found in the eastern Iranian site of Shahr-i Sokhta ranging from the fourth to the beginning of the second millennium BC reveals a culture fully specialized in wool textiles with reduced inclusion of some vegetable fibers but no attestation of cotton (Good 1999).[107]

We have to wait until the first millennium BC to encounter the first secure attestations to cotton in the Near East, both as a cultivated fiber and woven textile. A stone sarcophagus found below the floor of room 49, in the palace of Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) at Nimrud, contained the remains of two female bodies and stunning grave goods associated with the Assyrian queens Yabâ, the wife of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC), and Atalia, the wife of Sargon II (721-705 BC; George 1989: 29-31, Oates 2001: 83-84). Among these luxurious materials were the remnants of fabrics which, according to the most recent analysis, included seven linen textile fragments and one cotton textile fragment (Toray 1996: 199).[108] This earliest evidence for the presence of a cotton textile inside a royal Assyrian burial is most interesting since, according to Assyrian records, king Sennacherib (705-681 BC) is said to have introduced into the royal botanical garden the *işe naš šipati* "tree bearing wool" which "people pluck and weave as garments" (*CAD* 1956: I.217; Oppenheim 1967: 245). No further information is given as to the provenance or the specific name of the plant. Reference to a tree which bears wool seems to imply that the plant was unfamiliar to the Assyrians while allusion to a fiber which "people pluck and weave as garments" suggests that cotton-made garments were already known to the Assyrian royal house.[109] In addition, Sennacherib's statement may also suggest a point of departure for the attempted small-scale cultivation of this exotic plant in the Near East. Large scale cultivation of cotton however must remain an improbable hypothesis given that no trace of a cotton garment industry is to be found in Assyrian records (Dalley 1991: 121). At the same time, this almost certainly implies that the cotton arriving in Mesopotamia must have been imported.

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[107] I.L. Good's doctoral dissertation, "the Ecology of Exchange: Textiles from Shahr-i Sokhta," is based on an analysis of 75 samples of fiber.

[108] A previous analysis of (the same?) textile samples from the sarcophagus had failed to identify the presence of any cotton fabrics (Crowfoot 1995: 113-118; quoted in Oates 2001: 83).

Further references to cotton come from three independent literary sources: the Hebrew Bible and the Greek writers Herodotus and Theophrastus. Both Herodotus and the Hebrew Bible refer to the existence of cotton in the context of the Persian empire. According to Herodotus, after Egypt was subdued by Xerxes (486-465 BC), the Persian king amassed an army from all nations in order to take over Greece. Among these peoples were the Indians who "wore cotton (*tree wool*) dresses and carried bows of cane" (Herodotus, *Histories* VII: 65). The sole Biblical reference to cotton uses the word *karpas,* which is a cognate of the Sanskrit word for cotton *kârpâsa.* According to the Book of Esther[110] a sumptuous banquet lasting seven days was offered at Susa "in the court of the garden of the king's palace" by the Persian king Ahasuerus, most probably Xerxes. Inside the court "there were white cotton curtains and blue hangings caught up with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and marble pillars, and also couches of gold and silver on a mosaic pavement of porphyry, marble, mother-of-pearl and precious stones. Drinks were served in golden goblets, goblets of different kinds, and the royal wine was lavished according to the bounty of the king" (Esth 1: 2-7, *RVS*).

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[109] This is indeed confirmed by the previous reference attesting to the presence of a single cotton fragment inside the royal Assyrian tomb. This cotton fabric may represent the lasting remains of what used to be a single cotton textile or garment belonging to one of the Assyrian queens. Given that Sennacherib introduced the planting of cotton in the Assyrian royal gardens it is most likely that this garment or textile belonged to Atalia, mother or step-mother of Sennacherib, rather than to Yabâ, wife of Tiglath-Pileser III (for further comments on the death of Atalia see Oates 2001: 83). According to A. R. George, "Atalia's interment falls between Sargon's accession in 722 BC and the completion of the new capital in 707" (George 1989: 31).

It is noticeable that Herodotus' statement, not unlike that of Sennacherib (705-681 BC), makes a graphic reference to cotton as a *tree wool* while the Hebrew Bible refers to the woven textile by its original Sanskrit name. Arguably, one can imply that these two allusions to cotton refer to two different ways in which this non-native plant and its derivate woven product made their way into the ancient Near east. Sennacherib states he got hold of the "tree" (or the seeds?). Conversely, the reference in the Book of Esther implies a direct link between the native Indian origin of the plant and the Persian court.

By the mid-first millennium BC the trade and demand for cotton may have intensified to the point that both Herodotus and the philosopher Theophrastus identify Egypt, and the island of Dilmun (present day Bahrain), together with India, as locations where cotton was grown. According to Herodotus' remarks on India, " there are trees growing wild which produce a kind of wool better than the sheep's wool in beauty and quality, which the Indians use to make their clothes" (*Histories* III: 106-107). Herodotus writing in the 430s BC stresses the novelty of cotton and mentions that this exotic fiber was grown also in Egypt under the Pharaon Amasis (569 to 525 BC; *Histories* III: 47; III: 106). The Greek philosopher Theophrastus, who wrote probably during the late 4th century BC,[111] and got his sources from "the occasion when there was an expedition of those returning from India sent out by Alexander," reports that cotton (*tree wool*) was grown in the island of Tylos (the Mesopotamian Dilmun/Telmun, modern Bahrain; Theophrastus IV. 7,8).[112] Further evidence that cotton was cultivated in Dilmun at the time of the Persian empire is now confirmed by archaeobotanic studies (Lombard 1999: 178-179; Haerinck 2002: 248).[113] Most interestingly, as in the case of the Arjan tomb, a bath-tub type coffin found at Qal'at al-Bahrain dated to the late Achaemenid period includes textile remains of what could perhaps be cotton fiber (Højlund and Andersen 1994: 415; Haerinck 2002: 246).

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[110] The composition of the book of Esther may be as early as the fifth and as late as the second century BC. Because the book is set in the Persian Period and is concerned with the problems of a Jewish minority in the East it is probable that the book was composed in the eastern Diaspora (Tucker 1993: 198).

Taken altogether, these sources imply that between the time of the Assyrian king, Sennacherib (705-681 BC), and the time of the Persian king Xerxes (486-465 BC), cotton textiles may have become a well known luxurious commodity whose cultivation had spread from India to the island of Dilmun, and Egypt. In the context of the Persian Empire this is hardly a surprise since by the end of the 6th century BC

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[111] According to Classical sources, Theoprastus was born in 370 BC in Lesbos and like Aristotle was a pupil of Plato (Hort 1916: xvii).

[112] "They say that the island also produces the 'wool-bearing' tree in abundance. This has a leaf like that of the vine, but small, and bears no fruit; but the vessel in which the 'wool' is contained is as large as a spring apple, and closed, but when it is ripe, it unfolds and puts forth the 'wool,' of which they weave their fabrics, some of which are cheap and some very expensive" (Theophrastus IV. Vii.7).

[113] The presence of numerous small sized spindle whorls (1 to 1.8 cm diameter) suggests that short delicate fibers such as cotton were effectively woven on the Island of Bahrein during the Tylos Phase (1st century BC; Lombard 1999: 178-179).

Egypt, India, as well as the island of Dilmun were all under Persian political control (524 BC for Egypt; possibly ca. 521 BC for Dilmun; and ca. 513 BC for India; Olmstead 1948: 88, 145, Potts 1990: 351). The attestation of Indian travelers on their way to India around 500 BC receiving provisions from the Persian central administration underlines the type of long distance commercial networks supported by the Persian empire (Hallock 1969, tablet 2057).

II.8.5. Cotton in the Neo-Elamite period

It is within the context provided by the previous sources that the relevance of the cotton textiles found in the Arjan tomb should be evaluated. To begin with, the manufacture of the cotton textiles from Arjan broadly falls between 650 and 575 BC (Elamite IIIA). This date not only places the Arjan evidence squarely in between the time of the Assyrian king Sennacherib and the Persian king Xerxes but draws a demarcation line in the chronological timeline, opening the door to a number of general questions regarding trade routes and the participation of cotton in the history of Near Eastern textiles before the creation of the Achaemenid Persian Empire. In addition, it also indicates that cotton-made garments decorated with embroideries and gold bracteates were appropriate to the funerary context of a royal tomb. The association with elite goods also serves to emphasize both the aesthetic quality and value of these garments as well as the privileged status of Kiddin Hutran, the son of Kurluš.

It comes thus as a surprise to note that Kurluš, the father of Kiddin-Hutran, is seemingly identified in the economic and administrative tablets from Susa as a merchant and/or emissary associated with *Unsak*[114] supplying wool and *kuktum* garments into the Elamite court at Susa (Scheil *MDP* 9: 16,4; 50,5; 127,6; Vallat 1984: 4). The fact that both father and son had direct association with both, cotton and a type of garment described as *kuktum,* does present an interesting tale of anecdotal proportions and a stimulating basis for further speculation about the possibility of finding traces of cotton textiles in the Neo-Elamite texts. Before going any further, though, the reader should be alerted to the fact that, despite the apparent similarities between the etymology of the English word cotton and Elamite *kuktum,* any analogy based on meaning will be unjustified. Indeed, the English word cotton most certainly originated from the Arabic word *qutn* (via Spanish al-coton/algodon, French Provencal or Italian coton).[115] Nonetheless, at the other end of the etymological chain, there is the Akkadian word *kitû* with a variant *kidinnû/kitinnu* represented only in the Neo-Babylonian period.[116] In both cases, though, the fabric in question is linen and not cotton (CAD 466: 1, 2; Oppenheim 1967: 250-251).[117] When and how the two threads of the etymological chain came to collide is, to this author's knowledge, a mystery.

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[114] Following F. Vallat, *Unsak* is here understood as a personal name; still, we don't know with certainty who this *Unsak* was or from where the Unsakean people came from (see Vallat 1992); F. Vallat has suggested a possible association with the kingdom of Samati (Vallat 2000: 30; 2002: 4).

[115] The introduction of cotton into the European continent may have taken place with the arrival of Arab and North African populations in the Spanish Peninsula during the 10th and 11th centuries AD.

[116] According to Oppenheim the late Babylonian word *kidinnû/kitinnu* is "a foreign word in contemporary Neo-Babylonian texts denoting linen fabrics" (Oppenheim 1967: 250-251). W. von Soden suggests a possible Elamite loanword (1965: 472); see also H. Waetzoldt (1980: 584).

[117] A.L. Oppenheim presented circumstantial evidence to argue that the word *kidinnû/kitinnu* denotes two different meanings: a linen fabric and "a yarn and a fabric as well as a finished piece typically made of that fabric" (Oppenheim 1967: 250-251).

The texts from Susa represent the bulk of neo-Elamite inscriptions which are roughly dated to the first half of the 6th century BC.[118] These texts contain an inventory of various commodities, weapons, tools, precious metals, and *kuktum* (garments) coming in to the palace from a diverse array of places. Although the locations of many of the places named in the corpus remain unknown, the bulk of the transactions appears to concentrate on locations scattered throughout Neo-Elamite territory (Khuzistan) and includes places in northern Mesopotamia, the shores of the Persian Gulf (at Bushire) and Fārs (Henkelman 2003: 183; Potts 1999: 299). A non-exhaustive overview of the Neo-Elamite records from Susa reveals that hundreds of *kuktum* garments sometimes classified as blue, white, of quality, in color, and streaked or partly colored (?) are represented in the texts (Scheil 1907, MDP 9).[119] Interestingly, these same four kinds of *kuktum* garments (blue, white, of quality, and colored) are also represented in Middle-Elamite texts from the time of Shilhak-Inshushinak I (ca. 1150-1120 BC; Hinz and Koch 1987: 559). The individuals bringing *kuktum* garments to the court at Susa come from locations as distantly apart as Aiapir (in Izeh/Malamir; Scheil 1907, texts 29, 47, 101) and Rakan/Raga (around Persepolis; Scheil 1907, texts 61, 93; Vallat 1993: 227). This evidence, while partial and biased, reveals that *kuktum* garments of various colors and qualities were available to numerous peoples throughout the territory of greater Elam , i.e. Khuzistan and Fars.

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[118] The first group is an archive of 298-299 sundry clay tablets discovered on the Acropolis at Susa (Scheil 1907). The second group comprises seven texts found under the Apadana (Scheil 1911: 301-307, 309 B). There is a prominent figure in the texts, the supervisor *Kuddakaka*, indicating that the archive covers no more than one lifetime. For further references and discussion regarding the dating of these documents see J. Tavernier (2004).

[119] *Kuktum dabantina,* 'blue' (Scheil 1907, tablets 7, 23, 25, 53, 78, 90, 91, 93, 100, 109, 127, 225), *kuktum birmuna,* 'streaked or colored' (Scheil 1907, tablets 24, 29, 36), *kuktum purnibe,* 'luxurious?' (Scheil 1907, tablets 1, 23, 60, 108), *kuktum PIR PIR (BABBAR),* 'white' (Scheil 1907, tablets 11, 49, 52, 54, 80), *kuktum tahin* (colored?; Scheil 1907, tablet 61), or simply *kuktum* (Scheil 1907, tablets 16, 26, 40, 44, 47, 63, 83, 94, 95, 101, 110).

But what exactly is a *kuktum* garment? According to Hinz and Koch, the word *kuktum,* is attested in Elamite during the Middle Elamite, Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid periods. In all cases it seems to refer to a type of finished upper shirt or coat (*ku-uk-tum/tu4 MDP* 9; Hinz and Koch 1987: 559). This by itself says little about the type of fiber but the simple fact that *kuktum* garments reach the Elamite capital from different parts of the Elamite territory and that the seemingly related Akkadian words *kitû/kititu* stand for linen should invite us to discard the possibility that cotton weaved garments may be represented in the Neo-Elamite texts.

Conversely, the presence of cotton-made garments in the Arjan tomb offers assured evidence of the elite status of this textile during the late Neo-Elamite period. This alone does not necessarily demonstrate the existence of a cotton trade network but implies that many other members of the Elamite elite may have sought access to such a quality and status signifier fabric. To further hypothesize, if cotton indeed arrived in Elam as a traded commodity its detection in the texts would depend on two main conditions: (1) that we know the form in which cotton was traded, i.e. finished as a garment, as a textile, or a raw fiber; and that (2) we know the terms describing these. Since, in general, words tend to survive better than cloth most research regarding this subject has followed a pattern of linguistic investigation. A. L. Oppenheim summarized the complexities involved in identifying cotton when he suggested that "cotton fabrics...may have been referred to with designations still lost among the many unidentified technical terms used in our period to denote fabrics" (Oppenheim 1967: 245).[120] Yet, the fact that cotton was imported from far-away places implies that either the fiber or the fabric—with their own variable properties of strength, length, color and purity—rather than a finished weaved garment—which may have gone against traditional and local tastes and, ultimately, customized usage—were the subject of trade.

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[120] Despite this observation, Oppenheim presented the word *tīmu* as his own candidate for cotton—further suggesting that cotton was imported during the Neo-Babylonian period from Egypt into Babylonia via Phoenician traders (Oppenheim 1967: 245).

The presence in the Arjan tomb of embroidered petal rosettes decorating the fringes of textile I, in addition to 98 decorative gold bracteates decorating an original upper shirt garment, support our present knowledge of Neo-Elamite elite garments, further underlining the view that these garments may have been locally woven.[121] Thus, if I am correct in suggesting that the cotton from Arjan made its way into Elam in a raw-fiber or fabric state, the chances of finding any traces in the texts may not be very great since our available texts concentrate on the final link of the trading chain, that is, the arrival of finished *kuktum* garments at Susa.

To sum up, it is then most likely that the attested differences in colors and qualities, the quantities, and geographic extension of *kuktum* textiles represented in the texts, points to the manufacture of linen textiles. In this sense, the presence of linen industries during the neo-Elamite period is nothing of a novelty. Indeed, archaeological evidence extending from the fourth to the second millennia BC demonstrates that linen and wool textiles were very much part of the Elamite social fabric (Hansen 1970: 7; Granger-Taylor 1983: 94-95; Petzel 1983: 93-94). In this context, the fact that hundreds of linen textiles were brought into the Elamite court at Susa from a variety of locations presents an interesting starting point from which to interrogate the prevalent opinion regarding the later history of the Neo-Elamite period (Neo-Elamite III: 647/585-539 BC). Accordingly, the late Elamite period is characterized by the gradual abandonment of almost all urban centers and the embracing of pastoralism (Miroschedji 1999: 62). Yet, unlike wool, domestic flax (which provides a fiber we know as linen) is a crop combining well-watered soils with necessary settlement activities. Consequently, an alleged reduction of urban centers may not necessarily imply a pastoral way of life, but could well be reflective of a ruralization of Elamite territory.

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[121] For further discussion of the Neo-Elamite royal garment, a long garment with long fringes and rosettes on its borders, see Henkelman (2003: 192, n. 37).

II.8.6. Gulf trade: Elam and the island of Dilmun

According to the sources previously reviewed, by the end of the sixth century BC cotton seems to have been grown in India, the island of Dilmun and Egypt. The evidence from Arjan suggests that cotton made its way into Elam from source-supplying centers between 650 and 575 BC (Elamite IIIA). Given that the Neo-Elamite III period is reconstructed after a number of dismembered and heterogeneous bodies of documentation there is little background information available to support contact with any of these three alleged sources of cotton. For this reason, we are very much reliant on the information supplied by second party sources (Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian documentation) and much guesswork is required to investigate possible links. Of these three locations only indirect evidence of contacts between Elam and the island of Dilmun during the period in question can be affirmed with any security. Despite A.L. Oppenheims's suggestion that cotton made its way into Babylonia from Egypt via Phoenician merchants I am not aware of any evidence indicating that Egypt may have maintained trade contact with Elam during the first millennium BC before its incorporation into the Persian empire (Oppenheim 1967:

245). The same comment, I believe, can be applied to the actual existence of trade contacts between western India and Elam.

Conversely, three compelling reasons may be given to as why the island of Dilmun, and not Egypt or India, may be behind the origin of the Neo-Elamite cotton from Arjan: (1) geographic proximity; (2) a confirmed long history of trade and cultural relations between the two entities, and (3) the presence of cotton cultivation in Dilmun during the Achaemenid period. Direct trade between the island of Dilmun and Elam is attested by a large body of material and textual evidence at least since the Old Elamite period.[122] According to D.T. Potts, it is likely that the control of the *Sukkalmah* extended to the Persian Gulf port of Liyan (present day Bushire) "and that the links with Dilmun may have proceeded via Fars just as easily as up via the Gulf and along the Karkheh river" (Potts 1999: 180). Direct contacts between Dilmun and Elam during the Neo-Elamite period took place with the background of the numerous Neo-Assyrian attempts to control southern Mesopotamia and, in particular, within the Great Rebellion of 652-648 BC (see Brinkman 1984 and Frame 1992). Our knowledge of these events is biased by the nature of the sources which tend to emphasize Assyrian domination and Dilmunite subjugation. Yet, the attestation of two or more Dilmunite kings of Elamite background (Uperi and Hundaru/Ahundara) during the reigns of Sargon II (721-705 BC) and Assurbanipal (668-630 BC) would seem to affirm close links between Elam and the island of Dilmun (Potts 1990: 333-353).[123]

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[122] For the presence of Dilmunites at Susa during the *sukkalmah* period see De Meyer (1966: 115-117); for links between Dilmunites and Mesopotamia during the OB period see Leemans (1960: 141-142); For the cult of the Dilmunite god Enzak at Susa see Vallat (1983); For earlier periods see P. Amiet (1986: 175-180). For a general introduction to ancient Bahrein see *Bahreïn, la civilisation des deux mers, de Dilmoun à Tylos,* catalogue of the 18 may to 29 August 1999 exhibit in the Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris.

The 7th century BC was a time of constant political turmoil for Mesopotamia and western Elam. In this context, maritime trade between Elam and Dilmun may have provided unique economic advantages for both parties. Easy access to eastern Elam via the Persian Gulf port of Bushire (ancient Liyan) may have encouraged rapprochement, further strengthening exchange relationships and political ties. After the collapse of the Assyrian empire, late Babylonian sources are silent regarding any possible Dilmunite-Elamite associations. In the absence of written records one can only guess that, as evidenced by the presence of cotton textiles in the Arjan tomb, these relationships came to be sustained during the late Neo-Elamite period and continued to further prosper with the emergence of the Achaemenid Persian empire.

II.8.7. Golden Bracteates

Distributed above the chest of the skeleton, and mixed with the sediment, 98 gold bracteates of two different shapes were found (Tohidi and Khalilian 1982; 274). 34 are 12-petaled rosettes, each having two small loops on the back for attachment. 14 of these were 2.5 cm and 20 were 2 cm in diameter [see plate 12]. The remaining 64 bracteates were smaller, measuring only 0.7 cm in diameter. They are disc-shaped with a convex center around which two rows of granulation were applied. In contrast to the larger bracteates, the small ones have only one loop for attachment. The concentration of these bracteates on the upper part of the skeleton, their large quantity, and their differences in size and shape, lend support to their reconstruction as decorative bracteates probably sewn on an elaborate robe, a robe that eventually decomposed completely.[124]

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[123] For the role that Hundaru, king of Dilmun, played in supporting the Sealand revolt against Ashurbanipal, see Frame (1992: 135, n. 17 and 177, n. 226, with references).

II.8.8. "Golden Garments"[125]

The finding of 98 gold bracteates around the torso of the individual buried inside the Arjan tomb has led to the suggestion that a garment made of 34 rosettes and 64 circular discs was originally placed inside the coffin (plate xxvii). L. Oppenheim's textual study of "sky garments"[126] reveals these were luxurious outfits reserved for the gods, and *vestis regia* for Assyrian royalty (Oppenheim 1949: 172).[127] The evidence refers to three types of golden decorative ornaments: rosettes (*aiaru*) ,[128] disks (*niphu*), and *tenšia* (squares?)[129] (Oppenheim 1949: 176). A type of garment called *muṣîptu* has being described as composed of golden rosettes (Oppenheim 1949: 173). The apotropaic role of the star-rosette design is well known. The metallic shine and the function of these designs is in all cases to ward off dangers and evil influences and to inspire awe. The rosette also appears in combination with a disk (*niphu*), while the term *šibtu* may refer to a narrow ribbon border decorated with golden rosettes and disks

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[124] A number of similar bracteates said to have come from Hamadan and dated to the Achaemenid period are in the shape of 8-petaled rosettes. The petals have concave surfaces, as opposed to the Arjan example (Amadry 1958: 10, pl. 7.2). Achaemenid bronze rosettes with twenty petals were found in Persepolis (Schmidt 1939: 75).

[125] The terms "golden garments" and "sky garment" refer here to the royal dress covered with rosettes/stars made of gold.

[126] Written AN. MA, *nalbaš šamê.*

[127] According to Oppenheim, the use of gold rosettes as a decorative adjunct attached to a garment evolved gradually. From studdings of the "feather-crown" to the garment fringes, as represented in the divine Kassite headgear eventually they spread over the entire garment, increasing in number but diminishing in individual size (Oppenheim 1949: 181).

[128] A specific type of gold rosette that was apparently suspended from a headband that was known as a *aiar pâni*, or "front rosette" (Oppenheim 1949: 173, n. 4).

[129] These squares are described by Oppenheim as *tenšia.* This may refer to the characteristic form of these metallic bracteates but also to the ornaments or representations appearing on them (Oppenheim 1949: 176). Barrelet (1077) suggests these square ornaments may represent embroideries rather than bracteates.

(Oppenheim 1949: 175). A text of the time of Nebuchadnezar II mentions that 18 3/4 shekels of gold were given to the goldsmith to repair 61 damaged golden stars (*mul.guškin*) from the *kušitu* garment of the Lady of Uruk (Oppenheim 1949: 176).[130] Further Neo-Babylonian texts speak of garments made up to 468 rosettes and 469 *tenšia*-squares (*GCCI* II, 367), or 561 rosettes and 560 *tenšia*-squares (*GCCI* II, 133). The garments of the Assyrian kings Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) and Sennacherib (704-681) represented in the Assyrian stone reliefs reveal a royal dress covered with hundreds of rosettes of two different sizes, combined with discs and embroideries . According to Oppenheim (1949: 180):

> "nearly all these ornaments are said to be of gold, manufactured by goldsmiths, and are attached to fabrics (or leather-coated objects) from which they could be removed for repair, cleaning, and polishing. Their individual weight is light (1/3 to 1/2 shekel), but the garments thus spangled were certainly quite impressive in their value and sparkling appearance. The use of such "golden garments" definitely seems to have been restricted to the cultic and royal wardrobe, the former being attested exclusively for Babylonia, the latter for Assyria."

The Arjan "golden garment" was decorated with 98 bracteates of three different types matching the characteristics of Mesopotamian and Neo-Assyrian garments described above. When compared to the Neo-Babylonian examples described by the texts and the ones represented in the Neo-Assyrian stone reliefs the limited number of rosettes-*aiaru* and disk-*niphu*[131] present in the tomb indicate these ornaments could not have covered the garment's surface on its totality. Instead, they must have been evenly distributed along bands or ribbons. According to S. Dalley (1991: 124), border strips and fringes were sewn into the garment and would have to be removed when the garment was to be cleaned. In addition, "the border strips, braids and fringes played a significant role in Assyrian society, for they were personalized in their design...the use of rosettes to decorate those border strips seem to be equivalent to heraldic themes in military uniform...such motifs may eventually be used for recognizing 'regiments' on Assyrian reliefs, and for distinguishing members of the royal family" (Dalley 1991: 125).[132] Visual evidence from Neo-Elamite reliefs portraying Elamite kings may help us to envision what these luxurious "golden garments" may have looked like.[133]

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[130] A Neo-Babylonian text of the time of Nabopolassar mentions the cleaning of 172 rosettes of gold and another golden ornament known as *tenšia* of the garment of Nana (Oppenheim 1949: 174).

II.8.9. Neo-Elamite Garments

According to Oppenheim, "the technique of decorating textiles by means of small metal bracteates...seems to have been developed outside of Mesopotamia proper, perhaps in Elam, since the oldest evidence comes from that region" (Openheim 1949: 191). Various aspect of the history of Elamite textile craft can be indirectly elucidated by a number of figurative illustrations and sculptures.[134] As such, the first evidence of textiles including decorative bracteates or embroideries may be present in the garments of queen Napir-asu, king Untash-Napirisha and (her mother?) the priestess U-tik in the so-called stele of Untash-Napirisha (Middle Elamite period, 13th century BC). The magnificently decorated bronze and copper statue of queen Napir-asu shows the queen wearing a short-sleeved dress decorated with dotted circles. These, perhaps, are too small to be made of precious metal (Porada 1971: 30; Tallon 1992: 83), although A.L. Oppenheim indicates they could have been attached by small perforated rings that were sewn into the garment in narrow rows (Oppenheim 1949: 187).[135] Evidence of bracteates during the Neo-Elamite period is more secure.

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[131] The rosettes are divided into a larger group of 14 measuring 2.5 cm diameter and a smaller group of 20 measuring 2.0 cm in diameter. In addition, 34 rosettes are 12-petaled rosettes.

[132] The hem or fringe of a garment could be used to seal legal records, representing the man who wore it (Dalley 1991: 125).

[133] Neo-Assyrian reliefs such as the famous series of king Ashurbanipal slaying a lion portray a royal garment filled with rosettes (Barnett 1960: figs. 60, 61, 63, 83, 84, 88). Interestingly, in reliefs BM 124886/7 which show Ashurbanipal in a narrative sequence divided into three snapshots the king wears two kinds of garments: one filled with rosettes and one filled with rosettes and alternating concentric circles (see Barnett 1960: fig. 90)

A number of authors have noted shared similarities between royal Neo-Elamite garments depicted in Neo-Assyrian reliefs, in Naqsh-i Rustam, in the stele of Adda-Hamiti-Insusinak, and in the stone reliefs from Kul-i Farah I and Naqs-i Rustam (Vanden Berghe 1963: 27; see also Henkelman 2003b: 192, n. 37 for references). This evidence needs to be carefully weighed in light of a reassessment of the accuracy of the standard interpretations available. Accordingly, three types of royal Neo-Elamite garments can be distinguished [see plate 89].

(1) Neo-Assyrian reliefs from Nineveh depicting the Elamite king Te-Umman (664?-653 BC) depict a long robe with long fringes and rosettes on its borders [see plate 93]. This type of royal garment has been found to have continuity with the so-

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[134] The longevity of the Elamite textile craft is attested by 4th millennium BC sealings bearing representations of weaving scenes from Susa (Amiet 1961, pl. 16.275 and pl. 16. 273) and Chogha Miš (Delougaz and Kantor 1972: 32, pl. Xa). Notice the earliest representation of a ground-horizontal loom in ancient Iran (Amiet 1965: 179-181).

[135] Two small Old or Middle Elamite (?) statuettes of offering bearers show the front part of the torso covered with stars. For this reason, and because there is no indication of separation lines between a sleeve and the naked arms or the neck, it is unlikely that these stars may represent bracteates (see figures 89-90 in *RCS*, pp. 146-148).

called "four-winged genius" of Pasargadae (see plate 16; Stronach 1997: 43; Barnett, Bleibtreu and Turner 2000: plate 294, detail 382b; Calmeyer 1998: 28; and Henkelman 2003b: 192 with references).[136]

(2) The stone relief from Kul-i Farah I representing Hanni, king of Aiapir and vassal of the Elamite king Shutur-Nahunte [see plate 17] provides another indication of the style of garment characteristic of the Neo-Elamite period at Aiapir. Although the relief surface has been extensively damaged there is indication of fine detailed facial hair made of elegant small loops. Hanni has a characteristic long braid ending on a circular contour.[137] The king wears a garment made of an upper short sleeve cloth covered by a long *à volants* cloth divided by borders of long frills and strips of rosettes. He wears a wide belt divided into at least four sections, perhaps indicating the presence of a long piece of material encircling the waist. The lower part of the dress is divided in two parts: a short skirt which probably belongs to the upper garment and a long skirt reaching down to ankle level. Both garments are decorated with a long border frill and wide strips of rosettes. The headdress cannot be clearly identified from the recent photographs taken by this author. According to early photographs taken ca. 1900 the individual appears to wear a cap similar to the so-called 'Phrygian bonnet' which has been associated with both Persian soldiers and the magi. Other authors have identified this headdress as a bulbous hat recalling the headdress of Ummanaldaš (i.e. Humban-haltash III, son of Attametu , perhaps Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak; Potts 1999: 281-283), the Elamite king who lost Susa to Assurbanipal (Reade 1976: Taf. 28, BM 124793, BM

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[136] The eroded remains of the Neo-Elamite rock relief of Naqs-i Rustem reveal a standing individual offering bearer an offering and wearing a pointed long headdress and a long bell-shaped robe ending with what appears to be a fringe (figure 33). The upper part of the garment is short sleeved.

[137] Damage to the surface of the relief makes it impossible to determine whether or not this braid is double (i.e. wheter there are two braids or one).

124794). The date of the KF I inscription and the relief itself have been considered separately. Accordingly, the date of the inscription supports dates within the seventh century (Stolper 1990: 279), the last quarter of the seventh century (Tavernier 2004: 21) and the Neo-Elamite IIIB period (585-539 BC.). According to stylistic similarities a date in the first half of the sixth century has also been suggested (Miroschedji 1982: 61).

(3) The reconstructed stele of Adda-Hamiti-Inšušinak (Louvre Sb 16) is made up of six different fragments. The detailed representation of a Neo-Elamite male and female headdress, upper garment, and bracelets add additional information to our knowledge of the royal dressing styles and accouterments of the period. Despite the description of the stele by E. Porada (1971:30), the standard illustration made by U. Seidl and published by Calmeyer (1976: 57, Abb. 2) includes a number of important inaccuracies which have been addressed in a new drawing made by this author [see plates 14-15]. The particular focus of this reconstruction rests on the distinctive patterns of the king's garments. The upper part is made of a short sleeve garment covered with strips of a pattern made of two rows of slender triangles pointing toward the middle where there are four circles.[138] Below this area, perhaps as part of a different type of garment (a scarf?), runs a piece of cloth made of a border of frills and strips composed of squares containing discs. Below the frills of the skirt there seems to be a delicate geometrical ornamentation. In addition, the king wears a bracelet made of opposite frontal feline heads matching those found in Luristan (Amiet 1966; Porada 1971: 301; Muscarella 1992: 199, fig. 140) and a pointed headgear.

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[138] E.Porada suggests similarities between this motif and the rows of triangles appearing on the robe of queen Napirasu {Porada 1971: 30).

The Adda-Hamiti-Inšušinak stele is variously dated to the last half of the seventh century BC and to the end of the NE IIIB (585-539 BC). Waters, seconded by Tavernier, has even proposed the possibility that Atta-hamiti (Inšušinak) was no other than the Elamite Atamaita who, according to the Bisitun inscription, rebelled against Darius I in 520 BC (Waters 2000: 85; and references by Tavernier 2004: 24). Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak's kingdom may have been based in southern and eastern Khuzistan, and it may have included polities such as Huhnur, near the Behbehan region (de Miroschedji 1990: 51 and 53, n. 5). The territorial reach of Huhnur may have extended to the region of Izeh (Aiapir?) and it may have penetrated towards today's Bakhtiari territory (Zagarell 1982: 49). Some authors believe Huhnur could have been controlled Fārs as well (Duchene 1986: 66; Stolper 1986: 238). In sum, the dates proposed for this relief vary between the 650 and 520 BC. The richly decorated garment of Atta-Hamiti-Inšušinak (ca. 647 to 520 BC.) was most likely covered with a combination of embroideries and small discs of the *niphu* type. This garment type contrasts with the Elamite garments depicted in the Te-Umman (664? to 653 BC.) and king Hanni reliefs (ca. 650 to 539BC.); both garments share in common the long robe with fringes and rosettes on its borders.

II.8.10. The Significance of the Arjan Textiles

If we attempt to summarize the evidence presented, a number of facts and a good many more hypotheses emerge. The survival of cotton garments in the Arjan tomb is, in and of itself, of the utmost significance. For the first time we encounter definite evidence of cotton-made garments in the ancient Near East. This evidence helps now to further validate the presence of a cotton-made textile in the Assyrian royal tomb possibly belonging to queen Atalia, wife of Sargon II. The fact that both, the Assyrian sample and the Arjan cotton-made garments, were found in elite funerary contexts dating to about the end of the 8th and the 7th centuries BC respectively reveals that Assyrian and Elam had access to cotton in a way apparently not reflected in the available textual sources.

The sources instead suggest that by the Achaemenid Persian period cotton was cultivated in India, the island of Dilmun, and Egypt. Unfortunately, the paucity of the Neo-Elamite evidence leaves little room to argue about the existence and importance of an organized trade of this unique luxury fiber. The presence of cotton cultivation in Dilmun, however, suggests that the Elamite cotton from Arjan—and possibly the Assyrian cotton from Nimrud—originated from this island. Whether or not maritime trade between the Elamite ports and Dilmun was in fact a reality would have to be determined by future excavations, ideally when Iran once again becomes the dynamic scene of concentrated fieldwork that it once was.

The exceptional presence of cotton textiles in the Arjan tomb, their survival, conservation and study, invites the opportunity to reassess long held views regarding textiles and garments in the ancient Near East and in Elam in particular. Three elements of the Arjan evidence are most outstanding. (1) This is the second earliest attested evidence of cotton-made textiles found in the ancient Near East[139] and the first one found in a funerary setting; (2) It is the first time we have actual evidence of a garment decorated with fringes bearing embroideries;[140] and (3) the presence of a garment decorated with three types of golden bracteates invokes a number of analogies to the Neo-Elamite garment traditions presented above.[141] These three elements strongly suggest the presence of Neo-Elamite royal garments inside the Arjan tomb.

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[139] The first one been found at Dhuweila (Jordan) in a 4th millennium BC context, (Betts et al. 1994).

[140] M-T Barrelet has attempted to show that embroideries were part of royal garments at least since the time of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208 BC) (Barrelet 1977) but this is the first time we have actual evidence. In addition, an argument has been made as to

In addition, one has to assess the impact of the textiles found in Arjan on the complex debate of Elamite-Iranian acculturation. Direct connections between the Neo-Elamite royal garment exemplified by the garments belonging to Te-Umman and Hanni and the garment represented in the "four-winged genius" from Pasargadae (see plate 79: 200-206) reveals a definite degree of continuity (Stronach 1997: 43; Henkelman 2003b: 191). Furthermore, the characteristic Persian court dress, the draped robe, could be just as well ornamented with embroideries and bracteates (Kantor 1957). In terms of garment styles, the three examples of Neo-Elamite textiles presented above show that, despite shared broad similarities, close inspection reveals that each of these robes appears to have had their own distinctive characteristics. This distinctiveness may eventually help us to be more precise regarding chronological frames and the positing of "ethno"-cultural differences based on dress. At the present moment, however, I do not think a more precise date than the customary ones –which broadly attribute these reliefs to the end of the Neo-Elamite period— can be provided.

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the nature of decorative elements depicted in the garments of Kassite, Assyrian and Achaemenid reliefs. Some authors believed them to represent bracteates (Oppenheim 1949; Maxwell-Hyslop 1971 in Barrelet 1977: 77), embroideries (Vorys-Canvy 1971 in Barrelet 1977: 78), or simply thought is was impossible to be discerned (Barrelet 1977: 81). The evidence from Arjan indicates that both, embroidery and bracteates were used in the decoration of garments.

[141] It appears that a number of textiles were found inside the bronze bathtub coffin reportedly found in Amlash-Kelen (Gilan). The cloths were in layers and the best preserved one was of cotton. Over all after unfolding and cleaning there were five pieces with different thread density, the biggest one was 32 x 38 cm (Mo'taghed 1982: 135, fig. 72). I have not been able to review this evidence to confirm the reported origin or the nature of the finds.

II.9. THE GOLDEN 'RING'

II.9. 1. Context of the Find

The Arjan tomb included a number of unique masterpieces of superior artistic value and rare craft. A bath-tub bronze coffin contained the skeletal remains of an adult male lying on his back. He was dressed in his most valuable garment, a cotton garment decorated with gold rosettes and disks (Alvarez-Mon 2006). At his side lay an iron dagger decorated with precious stones and gold filigree. His right hand appeared to have been resting on top of his chest, holding the golden ring. Afterwards, a lid was placed over the coffin and was firmly secured by ropes to the handles on the sides. Outside the coffin a number of precious items of ceremonial and functional value completed the catalogue of objects from the tomb.

II.9. 2. The Arjan Grifffin: Description and Stylistic Analysis

An exceptional bracelet-looking object made in gold was found on top of golden bracteates, on the upper side of the deceased's chest (Towhidi/Khalilian 263-277; Alizadeh 1985: 53). For lack of a better word, this object has been described as a ring with flaring disc-shaped finials (Alizadeh 1985: 51; Stronach 2005: 181). The ring's various measurements are integrated in figure 3:2. This artifact weighs 237 grams and presents exquisite craftsmanship whose general appearance has been skillfully summarized by A. Alizadeh (1985: 61-62) [plate 18].

> *It is in the shape of a circle, slightly curved inwards on the flattened side, opposite which is an opening. Fluted with twelve grooves, the tubular shaft is expanded towards the opening to receive two plaques with identical repoussé and chased design.*[142] *The composition of the panels consists of a palmette tree flanked by two rampant antithetical winged lions with broom-shaped tails. The felines and the tree are set on a mountain indicated by a pattern of double scales. All these elements are framed by a triple guilloche....The winged feline-rapacious pair stand upright facing each other in a threatening posture. One foreleg of each lion rests on the palmette while the others are raised against each other.*

Stylistic Analysis

In addition to its luxurious material, two elements of the Arjan ring determine the exceptionality of this object, namely: its imagery and unique shape.[143] A line drawing of the repoussé and engraved design represented inside the circular panels of the ring made its first appearance in 1985 and has, since served as a standard reference to discussions related to this artfefact (Alizadeh 1985: 52, fig. 3; 58, fig. 6; Boehmer 1988, Abb. 1; Potts 1999: 305, fig. 8.10; Stronach 2003: 252, fig. 23.3). Unfortunately, these illustrations do less than justice to the artistic distinctiveness of this object, depicting instead a broadly erroneous representation exemplifying poor craftsmanship and meager artistic achievement [see figures 19:1, 19:2]. To counter this situation, I have included here a selection of photographs and a new line-drawing of this image [figure

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[142] Contrary to Alizadeh's "repoussé and *chased* design" (in quote above); I have not observed evidence of chasing in the manufacture of the ring (understanding chasing as "hammering the metal down from the front to produce a low-relief design with linear margins", Moorey 1985: xxiv).

[143] For discussion of the shape of the ring see *Additional Elamite 'Rings'* in section four.

19:3]. This drawing is the result of collated photographs and sketches. Because the narrow gap between the circular pannels does not allow for a direct exposure, all photographs of the central motif bear various degrees of distorsion. To rectify this, I made adjustments according to the ring's dimensions. Regadeless of its merits, the final drawing presented here (which has been digitally mastered and underlined) remains an imperfect, not-to-scale, depiction of the original and should be considered provisional. Lastly, the drawing aims to be a faithful representation of lines and does not attempt at the rendering of volumes which are better represented in the photographs.

I shall begin this section by providing a detailed description of the main stylistic features of this composition. Where pertinent, stylistic parallels with other objects will be noted, subsequent in-depth discussion ensues in additional sections. The composition has been broken into eight distinct parts [see plate 21]: (2.1) head, (2.2) wings, (2.3) tail, (2.4) forelegs and hindquarters, (2.5) thorax, underbelly, and backside, (2.6) sacred tree-palm, (2.7) mountain scale, and (2.8) guilloche.

II.9.2.1. Head. A distinctive lion head develops from a considerably lengthened curved neck and body. A strip collar made up of triangular irregular shapes, meant to represent a line of the lion's hair, separates the head form the neck. A pattern of small elongated rectangular units with a curved ending edge serves to decorate the mane. On a smaller scale, a similar feature is used to depict a hairy border pattern on the pair of upright equine ears.[144] On a larger scale, this feature is a used to mark the layers of feathers on the wings. On top of the forehead there is a protruding curling lock of hair or pompadour divided into three locks with several Elamite and Luristan parallels already noted by A. Alizadeh.[145] The mouth of the lion is wide open with a protruding tongue. The exaggerated, distended, jaws of the lion are portrayed in a "C" shape; with powerful sharp fangs closing the arms of the "C." As a result the jaw bulges out in an almost continuous frame out of the muzzle and a full set of teeth are revealed. The eyes are fixed in a ferocious stare. As a whole, the enraged lion head of the griffin can be compared with the lion-headed griffin and lion-demons depicted in late Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals and palace reliefs.[146] The first millennium Assyrian lion-headed griffin became associated with standard representations of the Anzû epic where Ninurta is represented chasing away Anzû [figure 32:1].[147] The Neo-Assyrian lion-headed demon represented in doorjambs has been identified as the ugallu 'big weather-creature', a protective, apotropaic creature (Green 1986).[148] Practically understood, the exaggerated open jaws and powerful stare of the eyes might reflect two of the lion's key physical attributes: a terrifying roaring combined with night-vision ability.

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[144] This feature appears some time during the late second millennium in Assyria and wanes prior to the reign of Sennacherib (704-681 BC). Urartian artists also incorporated it into their motifs and used it during the reign of Rusa II (685-645 BC). In Iran it appears in Hassanlu, on Luristan bronze beakers and Ziwiye (A. Alizadeh 1985: 63-64, with references).

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[145] Alizadeh 1985: 63.

[146] For Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian elite seal impressions of the 9th to 8th centuries BC, including the Anzû see D. Collon 2001: 122, seal 232; 148-149, seals 288, 291, 292. According to A. Green (1994: 262), "at least by the Neo-Assyrian period an artistic repertoire of 'demons' and 'monsters' had developed which, despite various origins, had a unity centered upon cosmological myths. They included figures long known in Mesopotamian art and more recent creations along parallel lines, often with archaizing features to support their pretended antiquity."

[147] This depiction perhaps became standardized during the 9th century BC, as attested by the monumental relief panels flanking the main doorway to the temple of Ninurta at Nimrud, which date from the time of Assurnasirpal II (Moortgat-Correns 1988; Collon 2001: 148-149, with references). "Ninurta was particularly associated with Kalhu, and the modern name of the site, Nimrud, is probably a distortion of Ninurta" (Collon 2001: 149)

[148] See Black and Green 1997: 119-121, fig. 99, top register.

II.9.2.2. Wings. The griffin carry each a pair of small wings with the back one uppermost. The wings are divided into three sets of pinions sprouting from a curved rachis (the shaft of a feather) attached to the side of the thorax, on top of the elbow (which is marked here by an irregular striated hook-shaped form). The ending tip of the rachis has a characteristic long prolongation and three sets of triple striations on its surface. Similarities in the treatment of the wings are found on objects originating from both Nimrud and Susa.

Three pieces of furniture found inside room NE 26 of Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud and dated to the 9th century BC share close iconographic and stylistic parallels with the griffin depicted in the Arjan ring. A pair of decorative shell-made plaques depicts two finely carved winged sphinxes [figure 23:, 23:2]. The wings have four sets of pinions with curved rachis, an elongated tip, a triangular shape chased with rows of zigzags possibly indicating fur, and a small elbow protuberance. These two plaques are said to be part of an inlay set which had once addorned a couch (Mallowan 1966, figs. 326 and 328).

Also from room NE 26 there is a copper open-work plaque depicting a heraldic composition combining a sacred tree sprouting from a goblet between a pair of antithetical winged bird-headed griffins [figures 23:2].[149] According to H. A. Layard, sets of similar plaques originally decorating a wooden throne (or a couch) cased or overlaid with bronze, ivory and gold were found in room AB in the North-West palace [figure 23:4]. This piece of furniture was made of wood, the bronze pieces being fastened to the woodwork by means of small nails.[150]

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[149] Mallowan 1966, fig 324 (ND9250, 8.3 X 7.5 cm).

[150] Layard in Mallowan 1966: 396; Layard in Oates 2001: 234.

An Elamite parallel is found on a decorated limestone plaque from Susa discovered inside a well in the Acropole at Susa (locus 143). The fragment contains a representation of a double-winged genius followed by a human headed hybrid combining bird, scorpion, and lion characteristics [figures 31:4, 31:6]]. The wings of this monster support the curved rachis with an elongated tip, and a small protuberance located at the elbow juncture. According to D. Canal, this 'typically Elamite' fragment shares strong similarities with late Neo-Elamite sealings dating the plaque to the last centuries of Elam (Canal 1976: 87).

II.9.2.3. Tail. The lion-headed griffin from Arjan carries a short angular bird broom-type tail divided into two main tiers: the end of the tail made of four 'feathers' merging into a second segment composed of three additional 'feathers.' The broom type tail is attested since the Akkadian period and remains an iconographic motif depicted in a number of hybrids.[151] The broom-tail with a middle partition is at home in the Elamite tradition at least since the Middle Elamite period onwards. In particular, the fabulous pair of glazed eagle-headed griffins from Tchogha Zanbil serves as a compelling reference [figure 25:1].[152] This pair originally guarded the northwestern entrance to the Tchoga Zanbil ziggurat, facing the temples of the Elamite gods Napiriša, his consort Kiririša, and Išnikarab (Ghirshman 1966, plates XXXV, LXIX). Two different 14th century glyptic versions of the Middle-Elamite bird headed griffin appear represented on a faience seal from Tchoga Zanbil and on a seal from Susa. The Tchogha Zanbil seal includes an enraged bird-headed griffin (open mouth and protruding tongue) standing on top of two ibex and holding two antelopes with stretched wide open wings [figure 25:3].[153] The pseudo-Kassite griffin represented at Susa is being chased down by a kneeling archer; the bird head of the griffin is of a smaller hawk-type, with a small pointed beak and large circular eye [figure 25:2].[154]

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[151] Frankfort 1939: Pls. 22 a,c,d; 27 g-h; 29 e and fig. 59; Moortgat 1940: taf. 31, 233; 49, 395; 71, 595

[152] Originally a pair, R. Ghirshman encountered enough fragments for Mme Tania Ghirshman to painfully restore one sample (R. Ghirshman 1966, vol. I; T. Ghirshman 1970: 385).

II.9.2.4. Forelegs and Hindquarters. The legs of the Arjan griffin illiustrate distinctive stylistic characteristics which, in addition to the previously discussed motifs, should be taken as diagnostic features associating the Arjan ring and related artifacts from Arjan,[155] with objects from Nimrud, the Zagros Mountains, and Susa. These stylistic elements are [see plate 21]:

(1) *The striated almond.* Starting at the elbow and extending to the wrist joint there is a set of paralleled striated outlines inside an almond-shaped oval space. An analogous feature marks the location of the knee on the hindlegs.

(2) *Concentric semi-circles.* A pattern of three concentric semi-circles perhaps originally meant to represent musculature appear located on top of the thigh.

(3) *Fish-hook elbow.* A distinctive irregular striated shape in the form of a hook indicates the location of the bone elbow.

(4) *Groups of three parallel lines.* Groups of conspicuous three parallel lines appear dispersed in various parts of the body: three along the rachis of the wing; one

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[153] TZ 472.1965. Parvis S-O, enclosure wall, Chapel III, Louvre Sb 5022, 4.59 x 1.38 cm; See E. Porada 1970: 47, seal 40, plate V.

[154] Amiet 1972, plate 37, fig. 2082, and plate 182; Matthews 1990, fig. 295.

[155] The lions atop the Arjan candelabrum and (at least) one ibex represented in the Arjan bowl bear similar stylistic marks. In a forthcoming publication I will attempt to argue than the ring, the candelabrum, the lion-headed beaker, and the bowl from the Arjan tomb were made in the same workshop, if not by the same hand.

separating the neck from the chest, and additional ones marking the finger bend-junctions. The extremities have pointed claws of a feline nature, which are to bdistinguished from those of a bird of prey because of the absence of talons.

The striated almond and the fish-hooked elbow strikingly appear in the two shell-made decorative plaques from Fort Shalmaneser mentioned avobe [plate 23]. One additional shell plaque also from room NE26, also dated to the 9th century BC, depicts a winged cone and bucket bearer genius with the visible leg bearing the concentric semi-circles [figure 23:6].[156] In addition, and also from Fort Shalmaneser, come a small number of ivory fragments found in storage magazine T.10, located in the private royal quarters, next to a spacious terrace overlooking the countryside located immediately to the south of the throne room (Oates 2001: 180). The ivories concerning us are a group of 16 fragments belonging to the 160 Series (Mallowan and Davies 1970, Plate 37; Series 160: ND. 12350-1). Plaque 160a illustrates a "roaring winged dragon by a engraved by a master craftsman....this kind of dragon is a feature of Sennacherib's stone reliefs at Maltai as the mount of both Adad and Assur. ...it is tempting to assign this one to Shalmaneser III" (Mallowan and Davies 1970: 5). Although engraved on a different style, this hybrid and related fragments from series 160 reveal the presence of concentric semi-circles on thighs and knees [figures 23:5, 23:7].[157] The fragments 160 from room T.10 are dated 9th or 8th century BC and considered to be of Assyrian Style (Mallowan and Davies 1970: 46).[158] Finally, a large glazed brick panel composition found at the *ekal maššarti* (or arsenal) of Fort Shalmanesser at Nimrud includes a number of important stylistic details [figure 27:1, 27:2]. The central upper pannel depicts a pair of heraldic upright, rearing, bulls framing a tall tree of life. In addition to an almond-type pattern located on the bull's thigh, the bulls' head carry ears with a hairy border pattern and a line of hair separating the head from the neck, both features also appearing on the lion head from Arjan. This panel is dated to the time of Shalmanesser III (858-824 BC), who was responsible for expanding and completing the new capital established at Nimrud by his predecessor Assurnasirpal. .

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[156] Mallowan 1966: 399, fig. 330.

[157] A much discussed feature found in these fragments is the presence of a M or W mark engraved in the thigh (fragments 160f, 160g, and perhaps 160i and 160j). This feature is considered to be a trace of a stylized flame which has given name to a carving style called the "flame and frond school" (Herrmann 2000: 270). The origins of this workshop or school have been traced to the north Syrian Aramean city of Tell Halaf (900-850 BC) but it is unclear whether, in its turn, the Tell Halaf stone carving followed foreign influences (a thesis supported by I. Winter) or was an autochthonous development (a thesis supported by G. Herrmann (2000: 275, nt. 13). This is not the place to further pursue this link, even if it is

From the Zagros Mountains come two sets of distinct evidence in the form of: a) Luristan bronze beakers and, b) glazed bricks attributed to the site of Bukan (within Mannean territory). Concentric semi-circles are present on the arms of antithetical pairs of hybrid figures represented on two, and possibly four, Luristan bronze beakers some of which have the center of compositions marked by the presence of a water flowing vase and a tree "of life" [see plate 26]. These beakers were dated to around the 9th century BC (Pope and Ackerman 1938: 69, figs. A,B,C; 71, fig. D). Also associated with the bronze production of Luristan are sets of horse bites representing griffins

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worth observing correspondences between the "flame and frond school" and materials bearing the M/W mark such as the Lamassu figure from Tell Aghagha/Shadikanni (Mahmoud 1992: 101-102, plate 42, fig. 3). As an aside comment, studies on Magdalenian cave painting suggest that perhaps the stylistic origin of the M/W mark may go back to an attempt at indicating the distinct coat color of the animals. In Magdalenian horses the underparts of the belly and the inner sides of the limbs are lighter than the rest of the coat; "the light areas are clearly shown, although their representation is sometimes schematically reduced to a broad M-shaped line in the lower part of the belly, running from the elbow to the stifle" (Azzaroli 1985: 165).

[158] G. Herrmann and A. Millard commenting on Assyrian ivories indicate that "none is found in the storerooms of Fort Shalmaneser" (Herrmann and Millard 2003: 398), a statement updating G. Herrmann's own: "numerous Assyrian ivories were also, of course, found in T 10, the storeroom for Area T" (Herrmann 1997: 287).

[figures 26:1, 26:4]. An unprovenanced glazed brick attributed to the "Bukan style" presently held in the Ancient Orient Museum (Tokyo) depicts an ibex whose hindlegs and forelegs appear to have been decorated with a feature representing the almond-shape [figures 26:3]; the brick is dated to ca. 700 BC (Hassanzadeh 2006, fig. 5).[159] Being unprovenanced, the material allegedly coming from Luristan and the "Bukan" glazed brick present a great degree of chronological ambivalence. Their stylistic similarities with material from Assyria, Susa and Arjan is, to say the least, suggestive of a cultural artistic koine extending throughout the Zagros mountains that might have developed in concert with Assyrian and Elamite cultures.

Back to the evidence from Elam, the striated almond and the elbow hook-looking shape are also conspicuously represented on the lion legs of the hybrid depicted in plaque locus 143 [figure 31:4, 31:6]. The same feature is also engraved on the thigh one of the ibexes being carried by the soldiers in the fifth register of the Arjan bowl[160] and on the perching lions belonging to the Arjan bronze candelabrum.[161]

II.9.2.5. Thorax, Underbelly and Backside. The thorax and the belly share an irregular surface dotted with small triangular punctures illustrating the fur of the animal. This surface extends from the thorax down through the underbelly, the male genitals and possibly expands into an irregular triangular pattern located below the wing. These features are again present in the two shell plaques from Nimrud previously mentioned. The ribs of the griffin from Arjan are perhaps represented by a pair of arched lines located on the curved back of the animal. A similar feature appears represented on the two shell plaques and in the copper plaque from Nimrud.

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[159] See discussion by Hassanzadeh and Mollasalehi in this volume.

[160] These markings do not appear on the published drawings of the Arjan bowl. Detail photographs of the bowl's surface taken by this author, however, reveal that the third ibex from the right does have the striated almond-like shape represented on its thigh.

[161] For details of the candelabrum see *Antica Persica, I tesori del Museo Nazionale di Tehran e la ricerca italiana in Iran* (Edizioni di Luca, 2001: 63, fig. 89).

II.9.2.6. Sacred Tree-Palm. A central trunk with double volutes at each end supports a one-quarter circle from which sprouts a palmette fan made of seven leaves. A vertical median divides the tree trunk into two parts. The volutes capping the upper part of the trunk hang down while the lower volutes curl towards the top.

The short tree represented here is related to a simpler, but analogous, variation represented on a square polychrome glazed plaque found at Susa [figure 16: 2]. This limestone plaque (Sb 3354) presents two leaping bearded caprids standing on a central tree-of-life motif. The animals are elegant in their linear pose with graceful necks. S. Heim has indicated this plaque may have been part of a large composite arrangement made up separate plaques showing various compositions combining animals, trees, and human figures (Heim 1989: 128, fig. 48). Amiet dates this composition (with reservations) to the 8th century BC (Amiet 1966: 516, fig. 393). A distant parallel can perhaps be found with the sacred tree-palm represented on a number of 9th century BC Assyrian style ivories and a lapislazuli fragment from Hasanlu. These fragments depict what appears to have be anthitetical scenes centered on the image of a stylized tree-palm ending on a palmette fan made of five or seven leaves (Muscarella 1980: 155, figs 286 A,B). This palmette is clearly an offshoot version of the sophisticated tree of life represented on 9th century BC Assyrian wall reliefs in the Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud.

The tree palm is a distinctive motif of the iconography of the ancient Near East. Generally speaking, the tree itself cannot be assigned to specific botanical species or a single mythic or cultic entity (York 1993: 269). In most historical scenes its trunk is represented in a natural version (i.e. a long truck covered with scales). In purely religious scenes, the Assyrian tree of life is completely non-naturalistic; it is an artificial ritual form associated with Assur, the national deity, and the king as sacral power (York 1993: 278).[162]

II.9.2.7. Mountain scale. The ground is represented by double semicircles or scales standing on top of each other representing mountainous terrain. This type of stylization differs with the ordinary single outlined mountain pattern. An earlier example of this type of mountain may be found in Middle Assyrian period. [163] The double outline mountain is present in a 11th –12th century BC gold bowl from Hasanlu and is clearly represented on the bronze relief from the gates of Shalmaneser III (860-825 BC) depicting the royal visit to a cave associated with the source of the Tigris. In addition, a remarkable gold ewer found in one of the three bathtub coffins from tomb III at Nimrud bears the engraved representation of a mountain pattern similar to the ones appearing in both the Arjan ring and the Arjan bowl [figure 27:5, 27:6].[164]

II.9.2.8. Guilloche. The surrounding guilloche is characterized by a combination of three intertwined bands devoid of a circle.[165] This explicit type of triple band guilloche appears represented on the Arjan bowl separating the fifth (outer register) from the fourth register. This motif could be considered a symbolic stylized element intended to represent water or, specifically, underground sweet flowing water.[166]

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[162] The reliefs of Assurnasirpal II (883-885 BC) at Nimrud establish the canonical form of the Assyrian "Tree of Life."

[163] For an in-depth discussion of this pattern see Alizadeh (1985: 66) with references.

[164] J. and D. Oates 2001, plate 3.b; see also plate 21: 51-52.

[165] The making of a guilloche requires the juxtaposition of equal size circles with the perimeter passing by the center of the surrounding circles. It is an artistic choice wheter the artist leaves a circle at the center of the composition or includes it as part of an extended guilloche band. For instance, see the detail example represented on the Nimrud ewer, figure 27:4.

II.9.2.9. Structure of the Composition and Iconographic Analysis

The antithetical effect—which is characterized by an arrangement of the composition along a central axial line dividing the composition into two symmetric parts— is a distinctive attribute of first millennium BC art. During the Neo-Assyrian period the antithetical effect was exploited for decorative and religious purposes. In particular, apotropaic pairs of opposing lion-headed winged quadrupeds were represented flanking the jambs of doorways (A. Green 1986: 164).[167] The pair have been interpreted as exchanging threats or engaged in combat or driving each other out but they are probably rather to be seen as barring the way to evil spirits (Barnett 1976: 18) as attested by both facial enraged features which, in the case of lions, most likely represent a thunderous roar.[168]

The creator of the Arjan ring took this already exceptional feature to a more ambitious level of artistic and intellectual accomplishment. Not unlike the sculpted motifs decorating the inner-jambs of the Persian doorways which stand on passage-ways facing each-other, the two lobed plaques of the ring create an imaginary passageway guarded by two identical pairs of griffin. The composition is conceptualized in such a manner that the griffin on the left of the tree is matched by the one on the right while, at the same time, their combined image is, like on a mirror, reflected directly across on the other lobe of the ring [see plate 18]. Perhaps there is deeper mening inbeded in this world of reflections; to some extent, we can envision a play of neutralized reflections and restrained energy at work. Yet, all the more remarkably, this contained field of reflections remains hidden from direct scrutiny. In fact, given the existing narrow gap between the lobed plaques (3.098 cm to 6. 075 cm), direct experience of the imagery is beyond reach; the resulting inspection, therefore, providing just a limited and distorted view of the composition.

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[166] D. Collon has suggested the guilloche may have originated in the south of Iran (Elam?), but it appears to be typical of the Syrian glyptic and does not seem to appear in Mesopotamia. In Mesopotamia, instead, the Abzu was symbolically represented through the use of parallel, straight, or curved lines rather than by intertwined bands (Collon 1975: 193).

[167] Except in one case where they stood at either side of a niche (Green 1986: 164, Nos. 103-104).

[168] It remains unclear if these representations portray the same figure from two different angles, thus providing a negative-positive "complete" view of the image; if they intended to depict a reflection of one's image into a mirror; or if they intended to represent twins.

The distinctive elements of this carefully articulated heraldic scene (the two griffin and the central sacred tree standing on a mountain within a surrounding circular guilloche) give way to a number of structural geometrical forms, the most significant of which are the triangle and the circle [figure 20:2]. These two elements add an extraordinary balance to the composition. The circular boundary of the guilloche band underlines the directionality of a perpendicular axis, marked by the sacred tree, and a horizontal axis marked by the mountain ground. The structural frame of the circle and the complementary axial lines emphasize the centrality of a diamond-shaped void space formed by the V-gesture of the griffins' forelegs. At the same time, the elongated and lean neck of the griffins, their full-bodied chests and haunches, the rounded details in arm and legs, together with the double arched treatment of the mountain field, create a vigorous modeled internal effect which contrasts and counterbalances the stable underlying structural geometry of the composition. There is a certain ideal convention in the harmonious sense of balance of this heraldic composition which goes beyond the formal properties of the object and assumes correspondance between form and world view. In the most classic of traditions, there is a canon of proportions at play determined by symmetry, legible balance, clarity of parts, definite axes, all prerequisites for a well-ordered whole (Schapiro 1994: 38). A well-ordered whole resting on an ideal of perfection and stability of the world; an ideal indeed made manifest through the symbol of the sacred tree sheltered by two formidable roaring lion-headed griffins.

Heraldic iconography stands on the tradition of a repertoire of compositions featured on second millennium Elamite and Mesopotamian seals. Pairs of ibex, goats, bulls, and griffins framing a stylized tree-of-life are a common feature in Elamite,[169] Mittanian,[170] Kassite,[171] and Middle Assyrian seals of the 14th and 13th centuries BC.[172] With some variations driving towards stylization and simplification this composition continues to be a common feature in the first millennium BC. In addition to some of the artifacts already introduced as stylistically close to the Arjan ring (e.g., the Nimrud plaque from room NE 26, depicting a pair of antithetical winged eagle-headed griffins, and the glazed plaque from Susa depicting the two ibexes framing the tree of life) there is further striking correspondence to be found in the form of a pectoral disc depicted on a garment of Assurnasirpal II engraved on a gypsum slab from reception room G, northwest palace of Nimrud (slab 3, BM 12456; Layard 1849: plates 5 and 6; Bleibtreu 1980: 56).[173]

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[169] See E. Porada 1970, plate IV: seal 36; plate V: seals 42-47.

[170] Thus M-L.Vollenweider 1967: 30, fig. 58; also at

[171] As in D.M. Matthews 1990, seals 206, 207, 211, 212.

[172] E. Porada 1948, Pl. 82, seal 594E (griffin engaged on a 'cosmic' battle with a bull); Pl 83: seal 597, Pl. 84: seal 600 (hunter attacking long-horned ibex).

According to the description of this relief by H. A. Layard "two kings in the center appear to be engaged in some religious ceremony; above them is the winged disk emblematic of the Supreme Deity (Assur), and between them the sacred tree....It may be presumed that these ornaments were embroidered on a silk or woolen garment and not embossed or graven on a breast plate of metal" (Layard 1849: 4).[174] The basic structure and ideology of the composition is organized along similar lines: a combination of the double-outlined schematic representations of a mountain scale at the base of a circle and a sacred tree spouting from its center [plate 29]. Assurnasirpal's relief was located on room G, a formal reception room containing some of the highest quality Neo-Assyrian craftsmanship representing the finest examples of embroideries supported by the king's garments (Oates 2001: 56). As the central focus of room G, this scene was echoed in the alabaster relief situated behind the throne room (room B, slab 23).[175] Certainly, this ritual scene has to be considered as one of the most important formulations of Assyrian kingship. Association between the date palm, the sacred tree and the king has been stressed as a momentous allegory of theological proportions whose symbolism has also been debated estensively. According to G. Widener "there is a strong connection between the Tree of Life, the Water of Life, and the Mesopotamian king as custodian or 'gardener' of the cultic tree" (York 1993: 270, 278 with references; Porter 1993). In this sense, the sacred tree-palm represents a symbol of agricultural abundance and the king-gardener the divinely appointed mediator between terrestrial and divine realms.

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[173] It was Assurnasirpal II who introduced large-scale stone carving (orthostats) along the walls of the Assyrian palace, mobilizing large amounts of skilled workers and inaugurating a tradition that would be followed by his successors (Paley 1976: 6).

[174] The nature of decorative elements depicted in the garments of Kassite, Assyrian and Achaemenid reliefs remains an open question. Some authors believed them to represent bracteates or embroideries (Barrelet 1977: 77). Evidence from Arjan reveals that both, embroidery and bracteates were used in the decoration of elite garments at around the turn of the 7th century BC (see Alvarez-Mon forthcoming).

[175] According to M.A. Brandeis (1970: 147) Room G parallels the architectural concepts of the Throne Room (Room B).

The iconography and style of the Arjan ring imagery finds strong parallels in first millennium seals from Luristan and Susa [for Luristan see plate 26]].[176] With reference to the corpus of seals defined as Neo-Elamite by P. Amiet one inscribed seal found in the Acropole depicting two antithetical enraged lions framing a small tree of life stands out as a striking parallel (see figure 28:8; Amiet 1973, plate III, fig. 11). This iconography seems to be comfortably at home in Elam where, despite disagreement with dating, evidence for heraldic imagery representing rampant animals protecting the sacred tree is well attested since the third millennium BC.[177] More importantly, a seal of extraordinary manufacture belonging to the Elamite prince Hupan-kitin, son of King Šutur-Nahunte, shares significant similarities with the Arjan ring [figure 28: 6; Amiet 1973: 18, plate vi, fig. 34). The precise detail and attention given to refined volumes and sense of balance depicted in this royal atelier seal reiterates the mastery of spatial relationship represented by basic geometrical forms and the spectacular internal sense of energy and tension outlined in the Arjan ring. The iconography spouses a heraldic composition including a wedge (marrû) symbol of Marduk, standing in place of a sacred tree, sheltered on each side by two elongated *mušhuššu* serpent-dragons. The clear religious allegiance to Marduk by this late Neo-Elamite king presents an interesting subject for discussion (see section below: Notes on late Neo-Elamite Religion). The precise dating of king Šutur-Nahunte remains polemic yet its iconography and style points to a date after the fall of Nineveh (Amiet 1973: 18; Collon 1987: 130).[178]

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[176] For the Luristan seals see: Chigha Sabz (Van Loon 1988, Pl. IIa) and Surkh Dum-i Luri (Schmidt et al. 1989: 429. Plate 236: 81, 82, 93, 84; Plate 237: 85, 86, 87; Plate 238: 923). Van Loon proposes the sanctuary of Surkh Dum-i Luri was abandoned around 650 BC (1988: 225).

[177] See Amiet 1972, vol. II plate 23, figs. 976, 978, 981, 982; also Porada 1963: 23 (lower bottom).

§ II.9.10. Technical Notes

The ring was manufactured by combining three individual pieces of gold: one fluted middle piece closed at the center and fanned on its two ends to expand into the oval shape of two disks. Lack of scientific analysis of this piece prevents this author from assessing the nature of the joints. Given that an observable filler metal or fluxing agent (combining perhaps oils and fats or wax and honey) is not conspicuously present, I will suggest the three pieces in question were joined by a simple mechanical hammering of the plaques, but this requires confirmation. The distinctive malleability of gold seemingly allowed for the detailed hammering of the metal's surface creating a subtle low-relief repoussé.[179]

Examination of the ring's metallic surface revealed a puzzling feature defying explanation. As observed on the photographs [plate 30], beneath each of the lobed circular pieces and the beginning of the fanned tubular shaft, there is presence of two ca. 2 cm wide rectangular marks reaching around the shaft. At these particular points, the surface of the grooves seems to have been slightly worn out, suggesting perhaps continuous abrasion by some sort of brace-like implements whose primary function might have been to hold the ring tightly in place. If such a scenario proves to be correct, these marks should be interpreted as evidence of the rings manipulation made *during* or *after* the manufacture of the ring.[180] In the first case, technical requirements such as the bending of the middle tubular shaft might have required the holding of the ring by means of two braces. On the other hand, if the marks were made after the ring's manufacture, there is ample room for speculation as to circumstances and purposes requiring the ring to be held tightly in place.

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[178] For the full debate about Shutruk-Nahhunte and Sutur-Nahhunte see Vallat 1995a; and Tavernier 2004: 7.

[179] For the natural characteristics of gold and its manipulation see Moorey 1985: 81 and Herrington 1999: 2. As for Iranian sources of gold, one is recorded at the time of Tiglath-Pileser III (ca. 744-727 BC): "...the land of Rû(a), as far as the alkali desert, the lands of Uškakkâna, Shikraki (the land) of gold, provinces of the mighty Medes...". At the time of Darius I the gold used at Susa is said to have come from Sardis and Bactria (Moorey 1985: 73-74 based on Vallat 1971).

This investigation began under the assumption that the Arjan ring could not possibly have had a function other than symbolic. Yet, the inexplicable presence of marks on the ring and, as we shall see, additional evidence provided by similarly clamp-shaped objects found in Elamite contexts shakes this assumption, inviting therefore a substantial revision of this assessment (see *Additional Elamite "Rings"* below).

II.9.11. Commentary on Stylistic and Iconographic Analogies

II.9.11.1. The Nimrud Connection

A number of intriguing stylistic and iconographic affinities between the chased representation in the Arjan ring and various artistic compositions found at the Assyrian capital of Nimrud have surfaced during this study. To recapitulate, these compositions come from a number of decorative objects of portable (copper, shell and ivory plaques possibly decorating royal furniture) and fixed nature (stone reliefs and glazed brick panels representing heraldic bulls framing a tall tree of life, roaring lion-headed hybrids, and a pectoral belonging to Assurnasirpal II). The attested location where the object were found are limited to: storage rooms NE 26 and T 10 of Fort Shalmaneser (copper, shell, and ivory plaques); a glazed brick panel from Fort Shalmaneser; and stone reliefs from the Northwest palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud (pectoral disc of Assurnasirpal) and from the North palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh (lion-headed demons). The appearance in the Arjan material of distinctive iconographic and stylistic features associated with the Northwestern palace and Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud going back to the time of Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) provide fertile ground for speculation. If anything, how to explain these emerging correspondences when more than 150 years separate the objects from Nimrud form the the late Neo-Elamite material here presented? Why, of all the possible choices, this influence comes from Assyrian, with a demostrable Nimrud connection? At the outset, this evidence suggests that key artistic features of Neo-Assyrian production did, at some point, make their way into the late Neo-Elamite cultural context. A closer look at the archaeological context of the Nimrud evidence indicates that none of the Nimrud architectural installations associated here with the Arjan ring, i.e. the Northwest palace and Fort Shalmanaser, seems to have been abandoned when Sargon II (721-705 BC) moved his capital to the new royal residency at Khorsabad. It is safe, therefore, to affirm the limestone reliefs from these palaces continued to be exhibited to a palace audience until the fall of Assyria in the late 7th century BC (Mallowan 1966: 469; Oates 2001: 42).

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[180] An alternative that should also be considered is the possibility these marks were already present in the rectangular gold plate before the ring's manufacture.

As for the luxurious royal furniture accouterments discussed here, we don't really know the circumstances of their storing in rooms NE 26 and T10 of Fort Shalmaneser. Hence, and to sum up, an artistic tradition linking Nimrud with Susa and Arjan seems to have existed sometime in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Elamite periods. When, why, and how this might have happened will be at the center of the discussion in the ensuing pages.

II.9.11.2. The Zagros Mountain Connection

By the end of the second millennium BC and, blossoming during the first half of the firt millennium BC there seems to emerge a cultural phenomenon which could be best described as the artistic manifestation of the peoples living in the regions occupied by the vast area going from the northwest of Iran to Luristan. Generally speaking, this is the traditional art of the Zagros highlanders in conversation with that of the urban centers from the Mesopotamian and Elamite plains. This art is manifested in the sites of Marlik, Hasanlu, and the Urartian, Manaean, and Luristan regions. Despite serious problems related to the provenance and authenticity of many of the objects attributed to these regions,[181] a number of distinctive artistic parallels between the Arjan griffin and motifs represented in artefacts originating from these areas have been noted here. While the artistic connections seem patently obvious, their significance can only be speculative. Distant parallels such as Hassanlu's tree-of-life motif (9th century BC), the stylistic and iconographic features depicted in the Luristan beakers, cheekpieces, and seals (9th-8th -7th centuries BC), and the Mannean "Bukan" glazed tiles (ca. 700 BC), revealing perhaps the interpreted manifestation of real cultural and political links among these Zagros based territories.[182] These links can be further expanded with additional evidence from the Arjan tomb such as the presence of a fortified building and a 'yurt' engraved inside the Arjan bowl (Alvarez-Mon 2004). In the first case, the depiction of military architecture seems to provide a view of a generic fortified structure which, as indicated by D. Stronach, may well have been commun throughout much of the Zagros highlands (Stronach 2004b: 718; see also Gunter 1982 and Kleiss 2003). In the second case, the conspicuous presence of a portable dweling or 'yurt' in the Arjan bowl introduces an unexpected exotic element traditionally associated with the nomadic tribes of inner Asia and extends its antiquity back to c. 600 BC (Stronach 2004a). The domed ribbed tent depicted in the bowl may be associated with a "lifestyle" spoused by Indo-European populations and their migrations into the highlands of southern Iran. Alternatively, barring the ethnic element from this equation, it also can be seen as the result of gift-exchange amongst the elites of the time (Stronach 2004a: 12).

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[181] A situation of great concern which has increasingly come to the forefront of reseach, in no small part thanks due to the stimulating work of scholars such as O. W. Muscarella.

II.9.11.3. The Elamite Connection

In the course of this investigation, a number of objects from the western Elamite capital of Susa have revealed close artistic iconographic and stylistic similarities with the Arjan ring, namely: (1) limestone plaque locus 143, (2) glazed plaque Sb 3354, and (3) several late Neo-Elamite heraldic seals. In addition, three more limestone plaques are to be incorporated here based on their stylistic analogies with the previously mentioned late Neo-Elamite objects, these are: (4) glazed plaque fragment 47, (5) limestone plaque SAM, and (6) limestone plaque Sb 43.

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[182] See Hassanzadeh in this volume or Hassanzadeh 2006.

(1) Limestone Plaque Locus 143 [figure 31:4, 31:6].

Plaque Locus 143 is a rectangular limestone fragment measuring 11cm x 8 cm originally found inside a well in the Acropole at Susa (locus 143). This fragment corresponds to the upper right section of what originally must have been a larger square decorative plaque belonging to a monumental construction perhaps of religious character. The fragment contains representation of a double-winged heroic figure or genius followed by a human-headed bird-scorpion with lion paws. The half-kneeling genius has both arms wide open in a W-position, with each hand supporting an elongated object of difficult identification. The shaven genius wears an elamite-type helmet, characterized by a rounded protuberance on top.[183] This helmet is very similar to the one supported by the bodyguard of the king depicted in the Arjan bowl.[184] This winged genius wears a long skirt with long ending fringes. The upper garment is characterized by a vest with a wide V-opening and broad fringes. A double pair of parallel wings sprouts from the back of the genius. These are similar to the wings from the griffin depicted in the Arjan 'ring' (i.e. the wings are divided into three sets of pinions sprouting from a curved rachis with the tip of the rachis characteristically elongated). The genius is followed by a hybrid supporting a bearded human head with a pointed helmet perhaps including horns. As noted previously, the lion paws of the hybrid support the distinctive almond striated marks and powerful claws noticed in the Arjan material. Aditionally, the kneeling genius shares close analogies with three winged genii represented in mythological series of late Neo-Elamite sealings from the Acropole; These seals depict half-kneeling winged genii holding an object of strange characteristics and difficult identification [figures 13:1-3].[185]

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[183] The Elamite helmet with frontal visor appears depicted in Elam since the Midle Elamite period The rounded protuberance on the top of the helmet, is at home in the Elamite world since the Sukkalmah period; The pointed-visor type helmet is represented in the Middle Elamite stela of Untash-Napirisha. In the Neo-Elamite period we see it on the rock reliefs of Malamir (Izeh) and in the stele of Adda-Hamitti-In-Shushinak (For the Sukkalmah period see Amiet 1966: 309; for the Middle Elamite period see Amiet 1966: 397; and for the Neo-Elamite period see Amiet 1966: 31 and figure 308. More recently, see Amiet 1992: 257-265, in particular, fig. 24. Here, the rounded-knob atop the "helmet" appears to be more like a chignon. Outside the Elamite realm this kind of ronded knobbed helmet, but distinctively more elongated, is depicted shares in a fresco fragment from Mycenae (Borchhardt 1972: tafel 37). Pierre Amiet notes the presence of similar helmets in the Mittanian and Cypriot cultures around the middle of the second millennium BC but dismisses this correspondence as "fortuitous" (Amiet 1992: 260).

[184] Thus Alvarez-Mon 2004: 211.

Following D. Canal on this, the plaque was manufactured during "the last centuries of Elam." Analogies with imagery from the Assyrian repertoire and with the Neo-Elamite seals suggest the plaque is to be dated somewhere in between a period of Assyrian influence and a period of Elamite renewal. A date contemporary with the Elamite "renaissance" period that took place at Susa after the destruction of Susa around 625 BC may be not too far off from the actual date (Amiet 1973: 24). Yet, similarities with the Arjan material (in particular the Elamite helmet represented in the Arjan bowl and stylistic traits previously noted) suggest close association between these objects. The archaeological evidence regarding the spot finding of this plaque presents some degree of ambivalence. The plaque was found inside a well (locus 143) located in the vicinity of the famous Hammurapi code and Naram-Sin stele. The most recent material inside the well may date to the end of the Achaemenid period (Canal 1976: 84; 1978: 19). Locus 143 also contained a number of written documents among which there was a text belonging to Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak, either the Te-uman of the Assyrian sources (ca. 664?-653 BC.) who fought Assurbanipal in the Ulai river battle or a more obscure 6th century BC Elamite ruler.[186] This Elamite king was responsible for work on the Inšušinak and Pinigir temples (Malbran-Labat 1995: 138-140, in Potts 1999: 276).

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[185] Amiet 1973, plate II, figs. 8, 9, 10.

2. Glazed plaque Sb 3354 [figure 31:2]

Plaque Sb 3354 depicts a heraldic composition with two rampant bearded caprids standing on a small central tree-of-life motif (Amiet 1988: 114, fig. 71; 1966: 516, fig. 393; Heim 1989:128, fig. 48). The animals are elegant in their linear pose with graceful necks. S. Heim has indicated this plaque may have been part of a large composite arrangement made up separate plaques showing various compositions combining animals, trees, and human figures (Heim 1989: 128).

Amiet dates this plaque with reservations to the 8th century BC (Amiet 1966: 516, fig. 393). The plaque is linked to a terracotta nail bearing the name of Shutur-Nahhunte son of Huban-imena.[187] A Shutur Nahhunte bearer of the title "king of Anshan and Susa, expander of the realm" and author of two alabaster horns dedicated to the temple to the goddess Pinigir at Susa is identified by F. Vallat as Shutur-Nahhunte II son of Huban-mena III (692-689 BC) and dated to ca. 645-620 (Vallat 2002: 375). M. Lambert suggested a date after the fall of Nineveh in 612 and the assumed Babylonian conquest of Susa in 590 BC (Lambert 1967: 51). M. Waters is skeptical about assigning Shutur Nahhunte to a post-647 date (Waters 2000: 111). Additionally, there is also the seal of Huban-kitin son of king Shutur-Nahhunte, mentioned in the Hanni inscription, probably the one mentioned in the Susa tablets and (Tavernier 2004: 7). In Tavernier's chronological this king was in power during the last quarter of the 7th century BC (Tavernier 2004: 21). Steve proposes a date in the second half of the 7th century (Steve 1992: 22); P. de Miroschedji places it in the first half of the 6th century BC (Miroschedji 1982: 61); and F. Vallat supports a date in the NE III B period (ca. 585-ca. 539 BC, Vallat 1996b: 393).

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[186] Potts 1999: 276 after Malbran-Labat 1995: 138-140. This view is not shared by all thus, ca. 585-539 (Vallat 1995a)

[187] At least fifteen different attestations to Shutruk Nahhunte and Shutur Nahhunte appear in Mesopotamian and Elamite sources (see Waters 2000, with appendix B on the issue. Most of these sources refer to Shutruk-Nahhunte II (717-699), the author of a temple to Inshushinak at Susa.

Iconographic analogies with the scene represented in the Arjan "ring", in particular the arms and legs position of the caprids and the treatment of the small tree characterized by a divided central trunk with double volutes at each end supporting a palmette fan made of seven leaves, does suggest a related date and iconographic tradition.[188] Additional iconographic similarities with the engraving in the bronze plaque from Persepolis [figure 34:9-12] and with series of late Neo-Elamite heraldic seals depicting lions and horses framing a central motif [see plate 28:] may grant the lowering of the date to the second half of the 7th century.

3. The elite seals of prince Hupan-kitin and king Human-šuturuk [figures 28:6 and figures 28:7; 34:9-12].

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[188] According to S. Heim (1989: 130), this short tree is a simple variation of second millennium BC Nuzi glyptic type of short tree.

The seal of Hupan-kitin, son of Shutur Nahunte II[189] represents two standing *mušhuššu*, 'furious snake' (horned snake dragons), framing the spade-*marrû*, symbol of the god Marduk [figure 28:6].[190] A perfect balance and symmetry, careful design characterized by nervous muscular anatomy (on an elongated body) replicate the style of the Arjan ring griffis and that featured in some late Neo-elamite seals. P. Amiet suggests a date at the end of the 7th century and the first half of the 6th century and relates this seal with the series from the Apadana (Amiet 1973: 18; plate VI, fig. 34; P. de Miroschedji 1982: 61, fig. 5). This seal may have belonged to the king Šutur Nahhunte (son of Indada) mentioned in the Hanni inscription. In J. Tavernier's chronological reconstruction the Elamite king of Susa Šutur Nahhunte, son of Indada and father of Huban-kitin, was king of Susa during the last quarter of the 7th century BC (Tavernier 2004: 21). Steve proposes a date around 653-605 (Steve 1992: 22). P. de Miroschedji places it in the first half of the 6th century BC (Miroschedji 1982: 61) with F. Vallat supporting a date in the NE III B period (ca. 585-ca. 539 BC, Vallat 1996b: 393).

Another late Neo-Elamite elite seal of much significance is the one engraved in the Persepolis bronze plaque and including an engraved seal and a five line inscription mentioning "king Huban-šuturuk son of Šati-hupiti" [figures 28:7; 34:9-12]. The plaque was found in the Persepolis Treasury (room 56, Hall 41) covered with charred matter (Schmidt 1957: 64). The document is a bronze rectangle 6 mm thick with two tabs on the upper edge which indicate it had been originally suspended. Schmidt explained the presence of the plaque at Persepolis as a war trophy (Schmidt 1957: 65).[191] "It was a memorial plaque," says Schimdt, "recounting the founding of a temple, the fixing of a temple offering from some area where Elamite was the spoken language" (Schmidt 1957: 65). The fragmentation of the plaque and the difficult nature of the text defy a continuous translation. Human-šuturuk does not appear elsewhere and there is no information where or when he reigned.[192] Although badly eroded, the seal depicts an heraldic composition including two leaping horses with a flexed foreleg facing each other. The stylistic analogies with a seal from the Acropole are striking (see figure 13:5) confirming a possible dating of the plaque to the time of the Acropole tablets. Schmidt dated the plaque "approximately anywhere between the early years of the 7th century BC and the third quarter of the 6th century" (Schmidt 1957: 64-65). Steve assigns it to his Neo-Elamite III A period (c. 653-605), noting the epigraphic similarities with the Hanni inscription and the Susa tablets (Potts 1999: 295); Vallat makes it contemporary to the Susa tablets (Vallat 1996b); Tavernier prefers a lower chronology and places it sometime between 585 and 539 BC (Tavernier 2004: 39).

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[189] The seal may have belonged to the king Šutur Nahhunte (son of Indada) mentioned in the Hanni inscription. In Tavernier's chronological reconstruction the Elamite king of Susa Šutur Nahhunte, son of Indada and father of Huban-kitin, was king of Susa during the last quarter of the 7th century BC (Tavernier 2004: 21). Steve proposes a date around 653-605 (Steve 1992: 22). P. de Miroschedji places it in the first half of the 6th century BC (Miroschedji 1982: 61); and F. Vallat supports a date in the NE III B period (ca. 585-ca. 539 BC, Vallat 1996b: 393).

[190] The Neo-Babylonian *mušhuššu* was the creature of Marduk and Nabû. In Assyria it became associated with Aššur but associations with Enlil and Nabû are also likely (Black and Green 1997: 16; see also T.L. Lewis 1996).

The artistic relevance of the seals of prince Hupan-kitin and king Human-šuturuk is ingrained on a specific iconographic tradition chiefly illustrated by the heraldic motif depicted in the Arjan ring. In all three cases, the elite status of the seals is iconographically and (for the Arjan ring and the seal of Hupan-kitin) stylistically manifested through a carefully balanced heraldic composition reduced to the paired participation of griffins, *mušhuššu(s)*, and horses.

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[191] In addition to the plaque eighteen clay labels of a characteristic oblong shape, torn from the objects they were originally attached to, were found in room 56. These labels share in common the presence of four distinctive sealings: seal 13 appears on label PT6 300 with four impressions of same seal (plate 5), seal 48 appears on three labels: PT6 303, PT6 316, PT6 320 (plate 12), seal 62 appears on thirteen labels (plate 13), seal 75 appears together with seal 62 plus label FT6 321 (plate 14) (Schmidt 1957).

[192] According to P. de Miroschedji (1990: 79) "it is tempting to see Huban-Šuturuk as the suzerain of a kingdom east of Khuzistan" (Miroschedji 1990: 79)

4. Glazed Plaque Fragment 47 [figure 31: 5]

Remains of a fragmentary glazed brick from the Acropole at Susa originally belonging to a much larger brick where published by S. Heim in her study of glazed Elamite architectural elements (Heim 1989: 125, fig. 47). The plaque depicts the remains of a finely drawn palm tree with a volute near the base. To the right of the trunk of the palm there is depiction of a hindleg belonging to a rampant animal. The leg includes a striated almond shape at knee level. S. Heim assigns plaque 47 to group VII, an assemblage of plaques influenced by monumental Assyrian wall painting and glazed brick panels (Heim 1989: 267).

5. Limestone plaque SAM (Seattle Art Museum), [figure 31: 3]

A limestone plaque once in the Heeramaneck collection and presently at the Seattle Art Museum (registration number 59. 57) bears representation of a double-winged genius wearing a long garments ending in rows of rosettes and fringes (plate 78: fig. 195-196). The left arm of the individual is stretched in a W-position. There is a round bracelet on the wrist. The hand is holding the neck of an ostrich. Next to this scene there is an upright bull-man with raised arms. According to the examination of this piece by O. Muscarella "the deity's garments and hand, the ostrich's head' body and legs, and the bull man's body, hand, three horns and top knob, do not seem natural and ancient." Consequently, there is implication that this piece belongs to the catalogue of forgeries from the ancient near East (Muscarella 2000: 131, fig. 8). I would be inclined to share these views were it not for the obvious presence in this plaque of stylistic features now associated with the Arjan material. In effect, as attested by the stylistic almond striated markings appearing on the knees of both the ostrich and the bull-man, and the single arched line marking the curved back of the animal, this piece bears diagnostic features represented in the Arjan ring. Additionally, the upright bull-man with raised arms closely matches the one represented on a late Neo-Elamite seal from the Acropolis tablets [see figure 13:4]. This seal includes two bull-men in atlas; in particular, note the detail of the tail turning around the back of the leg and revealing itself again between the legs. In sum, because the discovery of the Arjan material in 1982 prostdates by far the arrival of the SAM plaque into western collections and because of shared similarities with the mentioned late Neo-Elamtie seal, I suggest this plaque should be consider a genuine example of material stylistically and chronologically associated with the Arjan ring.

6. Limestone Plaque Sb 43 [figure 31:1]

Finally, I include into this corpus of decorative plaques and late Neo-Elamite objects a square apotropaic plaque carved in limestone measuring 14.5 cm x 15.5 cm. This plaque was unearthed by J. de Morgan at Susa and is presently housed at the Louvre Museum. The plaque contains a lotus border framing a divine being holding a dagger and a fantastic being on both sides of a pierced central rosette. According to O. Muscarella, "although manifestly of Elamite background—as evidenced by the style, the hair form of the figure on the left, and the off-center hilt of the sword—this scene matches, in iconography and in all details of style, one commonly seen in Neo-Assyrian art" (Muscarella 1992: 201, fig. 142). Both figures seem to wear a fringed vest and skirt represented frontally creating a triangular pendant on its center.[193] This "triangular pendant"appears to be a clumsy reference to the "elaborate fringed belt-tie" that hangs between the legs of both the similar figures in the reliefs in the N.W. doorway of Palace S (see Stronach 1978: 68, fig. 34). According to its Assyrian analogies, O. Muscarella dates this plaque to the late 8th or 7th century BC.

To summarize, the material just reviewed shares stylistic and iconographic traits with the Arjan ring and with Neo-Assyrian art. It seems certain the limestone plaques were fixed to the wall or the door of a building which, given the apotropaic character of the motifs illustrated, suggest they might have been of cultic character (Canal 1976: 83-84). As for the glazed bricks it is most likely they also had a decorative purpose. This evidence, I will propose, is indicative of the existence of artistic decorative programs of relative monumental proportions implemented at Susa at some point during the late Neo-Elamite period.

The imprecise chronology proposed in the past for these plaques reveals the deeply ingrained problems associated with the early excavations of Susa and, in particular, with our poor knowledge of Neo-Elamite art.[194] Large amounts of materials from Susa, including some of the objects reviewed here, remain orphaned and decontextualized; A situation recognized in 1973 by W. Hinz when he stated that "...at present those finds and monuments which have come to light do not justify a detailed description of the (*Neo-Elamite*) period; it is possible that the position may change if further digs are undertaken in Susiana, and in the mountains of Luristan and of the western Fars" (Hinz 1973: 178). As it stands, the ordering presented here is based on artistic criteria and analogies with new evidence provided by the Arjan material. Thus, plaque Sb 43 is dated by O. Muscarella to the late 8th or 7th century BC. The attested Neo-Assyrian influence in this plaque and plaque fragment of glazed brick 47 suggest a period of marked Assyrian influence into Elamite art. On the other hand, the dating of plaque locus 143 "to the last years of Elam", and its close association with the Arjan material and late Neo-Elamite sealings, in addition to similarities with limestone plaque SAM points to a slightly latter date for these two decorative plaques. A discussion of the chronology and implications for the dating of the plaques as related to the Arjan ring will be entertained in section §6.3.

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[193] O. Muscarella has reflected on the similarities between this plaque and the scene appearing in the large slab relief from Palace S, Pasargadae (see also Amiet 1966: 531, fig. 407)

[194] Our understanding of Neo-Elamite art has been tempered by lack of comprehensive archaeological stratigraphic sequences at Susa. These have obliged us to depend on stylistic methods that, despite the praiseworthy effort made by E. Porada (1963) and P. Amiet (1966), have not yet provided a clear picture of Neo-Elamite artistic sequences.

II.9.12. Additional Elamite 'Rings"

There is little doubt the shape of the Arjan ring, in addition to the type of material, its expert manufacture and artistic characteristics qualify the Arjan ring as a masterpiece of ancient Near Eastern art and underscore the extraordinary significance of this object. These elements, plus the reported fact that it was found on top of the deceased's chest, have fomented the view that the ring had a ceremonial, symbolic, role with no functional purpose (Alizadeh 1985: 67, Sarraf 1996, Stronach 2005). This opinion, however, needs to be reevaluated in light of both, the mysterious markings on the ring previously mentioned and, what is perhaps more persuasive, new evidence provided by three additional objects espousing the same 'clamp-shape' form of the Arjan ring.

Ring one, is part of the Louvre Museum collection, originating from the excavations at Susa (Sb 18027).[195] This object appears to have been cast in solid metal and, at least on one of its sides, seems to bear a repoussé relief representation of some kind [figures 24:2, 24:4].[196] I am not aware of the ring's exact measurements yet, this ring is too big for a finger and too small to be an adult's bracelet. It has come to my attention that a second object of similar characteristics is part of the Louvre collection (Sb 18026). According to Mme Agnes Bénoit, this second ring is also from Susa and bears no repoussé or engraved marks on the inner face of the disks [figure 24:6:].[197] A third example is housed at the National Museum of Iran [figures 24:1, 24:3, 24:5]. It is made of silver with a middle section about 7.5 cm long and two discs of ca. 5 cm in diameter. Both inner discs are completely smoothed and no evidence of chasing is noticeable. According to M. R. Sarraf, this ring originated at Tchoga Zanbil (Sarraf 1996).[198]

It is certainly compelling for the present discussion that three more objects sharing likeness in shape with the Arjan ring come forward from the Elamite world. Despite some reservations, the silver ring from the National Museum of Iran seems to have most probable come from Tchoga Zanbil. As for the Susa ring Sb 18027, the relief composition on the interior of one of its lobes, if confirmed, demonstrates that the repoussé composition in the Arjan ring exemplifies a luxurious version of an otherwise Elamite-based cultural tradition.[199] The likely fact that all three "rings" are of different sizes and probably could range chronologically from the Middle-Elamite to the Neo-Elamite periods introduces a new element to the Arjan ring's enigma. It is in the light of these formal shared similarities and differences that I would like to suggest the possibility that, in addition to a ceremonial function, the Arjan ring and associated rings must have had a practical dimension associated with them.

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[195] The origin of the object has been kindly confirmed by Mme A. Bénoit, the head curator of the ancient Iranian collections at the Louvre Museum.

[196] This observation is in need of confirmation.

[197] I am most grateful to Mmes Béatrice André Salvini and Agnes Bénoit for their gracious help regarding these inquiries.

[198] I was unsuccessful at finding documentation pertaining to this object amongst R. Ghirshman's public reports or on the earlier soundings of the Ziggurat by R. de Mecquenem. The object was found by this author inside a metalic closet containing materials from Tchogha-Zanbil excavated by R. Ghirshman presently housed at the National Museum of Iran. Yet, and contrary to other objects excavated by Ghirshman, the ring does not bear registration and location numbers.

The prospect that the Elamite rings may have had a functional role presents a number of challenges, not the least pertaining to the rarity of the objects themselves. Guided by both, a theoretical principle assuming consequential relationship between form and function —i.e. form basically determined by function—[200] and encouraged by the noticeable artistic and ideological analogies between the pectoral of Assurnasirpal II and the Arjan ring (including the the fact that the ring was found on top of the deceased's chest), I sought to explore literary references regarding objects of a ceremonial character defined as or related to pectorals. The goal of this inquire was to determine whether, in fact, the symbolic analogies between the pectoral of Assurnasirpal II and the Arjan ring extended into practical usage. This search directed me to well-known Mesopotamian literary references suggesting a link between the wearing of a pectoral emblem with the so-called "Tablet of Destinies".[201] Briefly stated, the Tablet of Destinies is recognized as: (1) a divine/royal insignia that could be removed from the body; (2) could be sealed; and (3) could be held by the hand and pressed to the breast. According to A. George, the significance of the 'holding at the breast" of the Tablet of Destinies is that the victor put it on and wore it as an emblem of power' (George 1986: 139). While these references foster ideological and symbolic allusions between the pectoral of Assurnasirpal II, the Arjan ring, and the Tablet of Destinies, there is lack of convincing evidence favoring analogous functional roles. This is equally applicable to the Seal of Destinies[202] and the likelihood that the Arjan ring may have functioned as a royal insignia with the ability to seal clay tablets or, for the same matter, wax boards.[203] Beyond its unique shape, the 'positive' nature of the

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[199] A corroded iron object identified as a clamp from Persepolis "garrison street" (PT3 329) is an open ring with bended ends. Its function remains obscure (Schmidt 1957, plate 81).

[200] Thus Louis Sullivan's mantra of modern architecture: "form follows function".

[201] In a number of myths, the Tablet is taken by the hand and held at the breast (*Anzu* II: 66, 80, 96; *Enūma Eliš* I: 157, IV: 122; *Erra* IV: 44). The text of Sennacherib indicates there is a depiction of Aššur and himself on the 'Tablet' which, according to A.R. George, may imply that the picture in question was made by a seal on the tablet (George 1986: 139). In the *Enūma Eliš* IV: 121-122 Marduk 'wrested from him [Qingu] the Tablet of Destinies, sealed it with (his own) seal and pressed it to the breast (Dalley 1989: 254). When the tablet of destiny was stolen

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by Anzû, in the Epic of the same name, as Enlil was undressing for his regular wash, the cosmic harmony upheld by supreme kingship was disturbed. As the story goes, because Anzû was holding the God's Tablet of Destinies in his hand he had the power to stop and turn back the arrows aimed at him by Ninurta, i.e. to affect the destiny of the arrow (Dalley 1989: 214-215). In *Erra* IV: 44 Marduk compares his direct control over the city of Babylon "which I have taken in my hands like the Tablet of Destinies and will not deliver to anyone else" (Dalley 1989: 304).

[202] A 'seal of destinies', *na4 kunuk šimāti meš*, was found on a text containing the treaty that Esarhaddon made with Median vassals in 672 BC. The seal depicts Sennacherib between Assur and Ishtar (the Asyrian Mullissu) both of which stand on their divine animals (Pittman 1995: 1598; Oates 2001: 205).

[203] During the Neo-Babylonian empire clay tablets begin to be substituted by other media (Wiseman 1955: 13). A transformation was taking place were clay, cuneiform writing and cylinder seals were being replaced with leather, alphabetic writing, and stamp-signet seals. In is perhaps in this context that writing-boards developed (Mallowan 1966: 152-161). Waxed wooden boards were used since the Ur III period (MacGinnis 2002). Neo-Assyrian and Hittite texts support the thesis that "waxed boards were used for writing religious texts, rituals, reports and royal order, and for registering the names of individuals. "The 'tablet of life', in which the god Nabû was thought to record the account of the names or deeds of the king and his son, was also thought to be a wax-tablet" (Wiseman 1995: 10). The texts make reference to writing-boards made of precious materials such as lapis-lazuli, silver and gold, although most writing-boards were made of wood (Wiseman 1995: 3). One fine example made of multiple 'boards' was presented at the time of Sargon II (721-705 BC.). This sixteen-leaved polyptych made of ivory was inscribed with an Assyrian version of the astrological omen series *Enuma Anu Enli* (Wiseman 1955: 6-7). These boards fitted together with hinges like the separate leaves of a Japanese screen and had both faces covered with wax (Howard 1995: 14). In the words of Wiseman, "these waxed writing boards take the history of the "album" or book back to the eighth century BC" (Wiseman 1955: 13). But waxed writing boards might have not been particularly suitable to receive seals (MacGinnis 2002: 223).

relief *repoussé* design makes an unlikely candidate for a seal since seals overwhelmingly carry a 'negative' (*intaglio*) image that is, when the design is cut or carved into the stone.[204]

Seeking further alternative interpretations, I also entertained four additional possibilities based on archaeological, textual, and artistic evidence, namely: (1) that the Arjan ring was a luxurious "napkin ring" of the kind attested at Nimrud, Uruk, and Persepolis, but the evidence remains uncertain at best; [205] (2) that, as mentioned by Assyrian sources, the 'ring' could have been an essential guiding mechanism of the famous silver-made Elamite chariots said to have been decorated with golden ornaments;[206] (3) that the "ring" was originally installed on top of a divine crown, similar to those observed in the Maltaï Assyrian reliefs (Bachmann 1927: 25, Abb. 18 and plate 27); and, finally, (4) that the ring was originally attached to the hand of a royal figure. As attested by a relief on the doorway of the throne hall at Persepolis, the figure of the king includes a pair of holes next to the hand for attachment of gold bracelets (Curtis 2005: 134, fig. 52). Despite this captivating evidence, the specific type of bracelet that might have complimented the royal figure remains unknown.

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[204] We know, however, of a few exceptional numbers of seals carrying a 'positive' *repoussé* design. These seals were different from the rest in their purpose, elaborate decoration, the luxurious material, and the votive inscription. There are many written references to votive seals worn around the neck of the deity, but we also know of votive seals worn by the king and ordinary people. One cylinder seal present a dedication to the god Marduk by a 9th century BC Babylonian king (Collon 1987: 131,134, fig. 785); the other cylinder seal was originally the seal of the god Adad and was presumably re-inscribed by Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) (Collon 1987: 131, fig. 563).

[205] In the North-West palace at Nimrud a number of curved clay "napkin' rings bearing inscriptions and seals have been found which may be holders or/and seals for scrolls made of some perishable material (Wiseman and Kinneir 1951: ND.806-ND. 809, ND. 813; Wiseman 1952: ND. 1115, 1117, 1123-1125). Later examples of such scroll holders are known from Uruk and Persepolis (Cameron 1948: 27 and pl XLVIc). The 'napkin' rings may be related to the development of the ring-seals discussed by D. Beyer (1982).

[206] As in: "their (i.e. the Elamites) nobles...who stood on silver chariots, were bedecked with golden ornaments wore golden daggers, had their fingers bound with golden rings..." (Luckenbill 1924: 89).

In sum, I have sought to find a practical explanation for the exceptional shape of the Elamite rings yet, I reached the point of having no convincing resolution for a most fascinating mystery. I shall therefore conlude by leaving this door open for the further commings and goings of academic research.

II.9.13. Commentary on Identification and Terminology.

The identification of the hybrid monster represented on the Arjan ring presents a formidable challenge because of our limited knowledge of Elamite mythology and religion. Fortunately, Mesopotamian texts and an ample corpus of mythological iconographic representations, combined with Elamite pictorial traditions and extant texts, provide a base on which to built sound arguments about the characteristics and identity of the fantastic animal portrayed in the Arjan ring. At the outset, one must identify the three conspicuous merging parts of this hybrid, namely: the head and body of a lion; wings, and tail of a predatory bird; and the upright, pricked, ears of a donkey, or mule. Whatever its identity, this male hybrid unifies elements of three animals and, by extension, symbolizes control and vigilance over distinct natural and physical aspects: the air (predatory bird), the earth (lion), the visually nocturnal range of the lion's eye, and the audible range of donkey ears.[207] From the point of view of religious beliefs, this hybrid may be seen as the result of syncretism supporting the combining qualities of an eagle-lion-donkey, which, by his mere rendition as protector of the sacred tree, was conceived as a theriomorphic positive supernatural being. In other words, a kind of ultimate "*übertier*" which, clad in an imaginary body, boisterously roars the dominant essence of a fearless, swift-footed, and watchful, mythical being.

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[207] The presence of large donkey ears as a direct reference to audible range and understanding (GESHTU/uznu) should remain speculative. Many other hybrids, other than the lion-headed dragon were depicted with donkey ears (Black and Green 1992: 70).

There is little doubt that by the first millennium BC this hybrid—commonly known as a lion-headed griffin, lion griffin, or leo-gryph—was closely associated to a weather god.[208] The genesis and development of this creature, however, is so closely intertwined with that of a lion-headed eagle and a winged "*dragon*" that academic discussion regarding these three hybrids before the first millennium BC reveals a certain confusion as to when and why a certain terminology is to be favored over the other.[209] In particular, the application of the incongruous term *dragon* to a hybrid lacking chthonic snake properties should preferably be avoided.[210] As we shall see, textual and iconographic evidence invites general differentiation between the dragon and the griffin based on the natural domains they symbolically exemplify and their role as divine acolytes. Thus the *griffin* can essentially be defined as a combination of a predatory bird with a lion while the serpent-dragon includes a third element to the alchemy, that is, serpentine or perhaps lizard properties (water, underground); The main difference being that the amphibian, underground, properties of the serpent-dragon—which emerge in the form of body scales, long serpentine neck and tail, and perhaps forked tongue—are arguably absent from the griffin.[211] More generally, the usage of the generic and morally partial terms *monster* or *demon* to designate hybrids "incarnating human fears and dangers, [which] represented the real world gone wrong" is not always a welcoming indication of this hybrid's evolving function (Black 1998: 20; A. Annus 2002: 109). Since hybrid monsters resided in the "final frontier" at the "edge of the world" vanquishing and capturing a monster entailed the making of an (epic) journey to this far-way destination. Once vanquished, the former enemies were incorporated into the god's service as divine attributes and apotropaic creature warding off evil influences (Green 1994: 238; A. Annus 2002: 119). Thus, if anything, it is reasonable to keep in mind that we are dealing with a long history of theological and symbolic traditions which saw hybrids overlap and share identity as the gods they came to represent contended for position in the religious pantheon.

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[208] Griffin is spelled in a variety of ways i.e. gryphon, gryphen, griffin or gryphin [from O.Fr. *grifon*, L. *gryphus*, originally Gk. *gryps* (gen. *grypos*) "curved, hook-nosed"]. There is suggestion that the Greek word may have originated from a Semitic source (from Heb. *cherub*, Akkadian *karabu?;* or word for raven: gārib, *kurību*; see Wigerman 1993: 243). At any rate, it is significant, but beyond the scope of this paper, to note possible relationships between the Biblical *cherub* and Sumero-Akkadian protective beings, the male *udug/šēdu* and female *lamma/lamassu* (see Brown, Driver, and Briggs 1951: 500-501; Foxvog, Heimpel, Kilmer 1980-83). At the same time, the cherubim that flanked Yahweh's throne (1 Sam 4:4) reflect an iconographic tradition akin to those of its neighbours where the king (and not a divinity) is depicted seated on a throne flanked by two sphinxes, and not griffins (see Hendel 1988: 377).

[209] Thus Ward 1910: 48-52; Frankfort 1939: 72, 122; Moortgat 1940: 126, seals 467, 468, 595; Van Buren 1946: 10. The seminal study on cylinder seals by H. Frankfort (1939) recognizes three types of *dragons* present on Sargonid seals: (1) the snake-dragon identified as an adjunct to Ningiszida (Frankfort 1939: 71, 121); (2) the lion-bird with snake like head and scorpion tail, sometimes, but not always, winged (Frankfort 1939: 121); and the (3) fire-spitting winged dragon associated with weather gods (Frankfort 1939: 124). It is *dragon* number three that will be discussed here as a lion-headed *griffin.*

[210] Dragon, from Latin *draco/draconis,* Greek *drakos* eye, *derkesthai, drakein*, to see clearly, to see; Sanskrit *drsti,* seeing, sight, eye; Old Iranian *derc*, eye. Overall we tend to think of the dragon as being reptilian, with a scaled body and spiny wings rather than feathers.

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[211] It is uncertain whether two lines coming out of the lion-headed griffin's mouth represent fire-spitting (symbolizing lightning and thunderous roar), the forked tongue of a serpent (Van Buren 1946: 10), spitting venom (Ward 1910: 48), or large streams of water (Van Buren 1946: 28, Wiggerman 1994: 223). Van Buren states: "this *dragon* borrowed the forked tongue of the serpent. Usually it lowers its head and appears to eject flames or venom" (Van Buren 1946: 10). But careful observation reveals that the flames are really the two lines of the forked tongue exaggeratedly prolonged" In fact, a comparable Akkadian seal published by Frankfort includes two similar lion-headed griffin one of which, as recognized by W. H. Ward (1910: 50, fig. 133), clearly ejects three lines from his mouth (Frankfort 1939, plate XXII, fig. f). I follow the assumption that the forked tongue may represent fire or water spitting but would prefer to avoid the term winged *dragon* (A.R. Green 2003: 29, with references following Van Buren 1946: 10). In fact, the distinct association of the griffin with a weather god (see discussion below) would indicate that this hybrid should remain a lion-headed (thunder or water spitting) *griffin*, rather than a leonine, winged serpent-*dragon*.

II.9.13.1. The lion-headed and eagle-headed griffin in Mesopotamia [see plate 33]

The origin of the Mesopotamian lion-headed and eagle-headed griffin may be traced back to the representation of a bird with lion head identified as the original Anzû.[212] Iconographically, the lion-headed griffin appears represented in Mesopotamian scenes since the Akkadian period (ca. 2370-2230 BC). In particular, a number of celebrated cylinder obstentatiously depict him dragging the chariot of a weather god on a heavenly flight, the god atop the chariot is most likely Iškur/Adad (figure 33:1; Porada 1948: 28, seal 220; Lambert 1997: 7). The association of a weather god with a thunder spitting lion implies correspondence between the thunderous noise of the weather god and the roaring of the lion. While this correspondence is not always apparent, given that the fire coming out of the lion's mouth is, for the most part, absent after the Akkadian period, the representation of exaggeratedly open jaws of the lion will be considered here as evidence of a roaring thunder lion. Cylinder seals of the Ur III period (2100-1950 BC) introduce a roaring lion-headed griffin on contest scenes framed by a bull-man and a nude-hero, two individuals wearing caps, and a god (?) and a hero (figures 33:2-4; Porada 1948: 34, seals 268E, 269, 270). The roaring lion-griffin motif was carried on with little changes into the Old Babylonian period (1850-1500 BC). At the same time, the relative compositional and narrative simplicity of the contest scene became overtaken with involvement of new characters in the form of a goat seated upright on a mountain and a man on one knee, both being attacked by a jaw wide-opened lion-headed griffin (figures 33:5-7; Porada 1948: 44, seals 355-369). At this time, the lion-headed griffin also appears represented on a more passive role: upright holding a pole and assisting in some type of cultic service (figure 33:8; Frankfort 1939: 174; Porada 1948: 61, seal 541; Collon 1986, plate v, seal 5), and as seat to a weather god holding a thunderbolt symbol (Frankfort 1939, pl. 27i). Frankfort stressed the disassociation of the lion-headed griffin from the weather god during the Old Babylonian period, thus gaining new significance expressed in a destructive manner (Frankfort 1939: 174; Van Buren 1946: 24-25, and 27). In a similar vein, E. Porada, suggested these scenes depicted "an assault of Nergal's forces upon their victims" (Porada 1948: 44). Other authors, however, have indicated continuing association with the storm god during the Old Babylonian period, thus maintaining a positive role as beneficent creatures intended to counter evil (Green 2003: 33).

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[212] The ancestor of this hybrid may perhaps be found in the winged lion-headed bird of prey from predynastic and Dynastic Sumerian times which Gudea of Lagash names *Imdugud* (Van Buren 1946: 10; Braun-Holzinger 1993; Black and Green 1992: 121; Wiggermann 1992: 185; Hansman 1998; Green 2003: 25, nt. 79). This hybrid remains a conspicuous feature of third millennium seals from Syria (as in D.M. Matthews 1997, plate XX, figs. 225, 226, 231). According to T. Jacobsen the lion-headed bird was "a thundercloud, mythopoetically experienced as an enormous bird floating on outstretched wings in the sky; Since the roar of the thunder could rightly issue only from a lion's mouth the bird was early given a lion's head" (Jacobsen 1976: 128). The walls of the temple of Ninurta at Nimrud were decorated with stone reliefs illustrating the cosmic battle probably representing the Anzu Epic (Dalley 1989: 203)

Middle Assyrian cylinders of the 14th century BC through 10th centuries carry on the contest scene. A sample includes a near-heraldic composition of two enraged lion-headed griffin attacking a bull and framing a palmette tree which follows the traditional Mittanian repertory (figure 33:9-11; Porada 1948: 68, seal 594; Matthews 1990: seals 277, 279, 280, 281, 288).[213] The Neo-Assyrian period renews the traditional adversarial role of the enraged lion-headed flying griffin, now clearly participating at mythological narratives counting with the participation of divine symbols, gods, and added hybrids (Porada 1948: 83, seals 689, 690). These roaring griffins appear to be closely associated with the activities of the god Ninurta as evidenced by Neo-Assyrian cylinders and the monumental relief panels flanking the main doorway to the temple of Ninurta at Nimrud, which date from the time of Assurnasirpal II (885-856 BC). This famous relief shows the god holding the lightning fork of the weather god together with the roaring lion-headed griffin (figures 33:12-13; Collon 2001: 148-149, with references). H.A. Layard commenting on this scene called attention to the "co-existence of a principle of evil and darkness, with the principle of Good and Light, their context for supremacy, the temporary success of the former, and its ultimate defeat" (Layard in Vaux 1855: 239).

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[213] E. Porada suggests these scenes derive from the repertory of Mittanian glyptic (Porada 1948; 67).

The preceding iconographic review reveals definite continuity on tradition between images of a lion-headed griffin acolyte of a weather god of the Akkadian, Old Babylonian, and Neo-Assyrian periods. The nature of this hybrid's activities has been linked to events of moralistic content where this *monster* gives raise to some type of offense. This last opinion relies on interpretation of the contest scenes and textual narratives counting with the participation of hybrids engaged in cosmic battles or epic tales were gods are aroused to anger.[214] But in fact, it would appear that an essential outcome of the challenge is the containment and incorporation of an enemy's powers into the orderly makeup of the universe.

According to the previous summary, two related candidates have been advanced for the identification of the roaring lion-headed griffin: (1) The *Asag/Assaku* demon defeated by Ningirsu/Ninurta in the Sumerian poem *Lugale*. Also, in a different tradition, one of the seven the demons defeated by Ninurta (Hansman 1998: 23; Black and Green 1997: 35-36, 107); and (2) The *Imdugud* /Anzû, the "heavy rain", "heavy cloud?", who stole the Tablets of Destinies, hid in the inaccessible mountains and was killed by Ninurta.[215] The Anzû story is known from Sumerian Old Babylonian and Akkadian Neo-Assyrian versions. One of the culminating moments of the story regards the day Ninurta and Anzû meet: "Anzû looked at him and shook with rage at him, bared his teeth like a *ūmu*-demon; his mantle of radiance covered the mountain, he roared like a lion in sudden rage..." (Dalley 1989: 213). Initially, perhaps envisaged as a monstrous lion-headed bird (but presumably described and represented as having a bird's head), this Anzû giant bird was seeing as beneficent but after the Ur III period came to be viewed as malevolent (A. Annus 2002: 111, with refs.). According to F.A.M. Wiggerman, this transformation happened as Adad's interests shifted from the lion-*dragon* to the bull (Wiggerman 1994: 223, 243-244).[216] By the Neo-Assyrian period the lion-dragon split into two beings: one with a scorpion tail (the mount of Ninurta), another with a feathered tail representing Anzû, the enemy of Ninurta (Wiggerman 1994: 223).

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[214] The question of when, how, and to what use, an ancient text was first written down remains at the core of much textual and, indeed, iconographic interpretation. In addition, whether a hybrid monster becomes automatically evil or unpleasant because it is shown confronting a god, or a defenseless goat, is certainly not an argument supported by the evidence. For instance, the Sumerian serpentine monster *ušumgal* can stand both for a metaphor of a god or king and a term of praise (Black and Green 1992: 71).

To summarize, whether identified as *Assaku* or *Anzû*, the iconographic and textual evidence just reviewed suggests that by the first millennium BC the roaring lion-headed griffin should be linked to the heroic deeds of Ninurta, even though the weather storm god Iškur/Adad may be a most likely alternative.[217] Opportunely for the present discussion, a recent systematic study based on textual evidence on the fluid identity of Ninurta reveals that, not unlike many other gods of the Mesopotamian pantheon, Ninurta shared attributes with other deities, in particular, Nergal, Adad, Marduk, and Nabû (Annus 2002; see also Collon 2001: 148-149). The sharing of identity among the gods was an essential part of the religious dynamics of ancient Mesopotamian religion also described as assimilation or cooption of powers and domains.[218] Likewise, we should expect that the enraged lion headed-griffin might have taken part in diverse roles, not just that of Anzû. In his role as Anzû, however, A. Annus, following T. Jacobsen, suggests Anzû was an earlier form of Ninurta, "his hypostasis, who was iconographically represented sometimes as a lion-headed bird, sometimes as a winged lion with a bird's tail and talons, sometimes all lion" (Jacobsen 1976: 128; Annus 2002: 174).[219] For our purposes, it is instructive to note the most important sanctuary of Ninurta in Assyria was located at Nimrud until the destruction of the Neo-Assyrian empire. At the same time, Ninurta seems to have lost his popularity to Nabû from the 8th century onwards.[220] One wonders if it is perhaps related to this theological episode, and coinciding with the fall of Babylon in 729 BC, that took place the disappearance of the roaring lion-headed griffin in its Anzû form from the Neo-Assyrian glyptic arts and the emergence of an eagle-headed griffin playing part on contest scenes of Babylonian origin.[221]

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[215] Dalley 1989, Wiggerman 1992: 225, A. Green 1994: 254; 1997: 141; Black and Green 1997: 107; Collon 2001: 148, with references; see also Annus 2002. In the words of T. Jacobsen: the lion-headed bird was "a thundercloud, mythopoetically experienced as an enormous bird floating on outstretched wings in the sky. Since the roar of the thunder could rightly issue only from a lion's mouth the bird was early given a lion's head" (Jacobsen 1976: 128). The walls of the temple of Ninurta at Nimrud were decorated with stone reliefs illustrating the cosmic battle probably representing the Anzu Epic (Dalley 1989: 203)

[216] Since at least the time of Gudea Ninurta is said to have slain the dragon and the lion and installed them in Ninurta's temple (Lewis 1996: 42). "Some sources inform us that the doors of the cella of Marduk and Zarpanitu in the Babylonian Esagil were adorned with representation of Lion-Men and other mythical features" (Beaulieu 1990: 1) "Sennacherib, adopting Babylonian models, adorned the gateways of the temple of Aššur with representations of mythical creatures, including lion-men (Beaulieu 1990: 4).

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[217] A broad, but well documented, recent work on Adad by A.R.W. Green (2003), reveals that Ninurta and Adad shared a number of powers and domains such as the storm, the flood, and a various common enemies (see also Annus 2002: 4, 177-180). F. Wiggerman (*contra* A. Annus 2002: 174) has argued against the lion-headed eagle, Anzû, association with Ningirsu. Instead it is Enlil, in his role as master of the animals that is proposed (Wiggerman 1992: 161, in A. Annus 2002: 173). Yet, this myth may have different traditions, as in the Akkadian Babylonian version of the story it is Enlil the god from which Anzû stole the tablets while in the Old Babylonian Sumerian version it is Enki. In both cases, however, it is Ninurta who confronts (OB Sumerian version) and kills (Akkadian Neo-Assyrian version) Anzû (Cooper 1978: 153; A. Green 1995: 1852).

[218] The term "theological imperialism" is sometimes applied (sentence coined by W.G. Lambert 1997, in A. Annus 2002: 5). For instance, in Sumerian times Ninurta and Nergal shared many attributes related to warfare powers but by the first millennium these are appropriated by other gods, notably Marduk and Nabû (Cooper 1978: 11, 147, nt. 1). A. Annus commendable study of the mythology of Ninurta and his participation in royal ideology reveals that, during the first millennium BC, Ninurta, "defender of the divine world order, god of warfare, agriculture, and wisdom," came to personify the figure of the king and was intimately associated, or syncretized, with Nabû.[218] According to A. Annus, "the cult of Aššur's son Ninurta was important in second and first millennium Assyrian until the 8th century BC when his role was given over to Nabû" (Annus 2002: 5).

[219] For Anzû represented in the shape of a celestial horse, a Babylonian Pegasus, see references in George 1991: 157.

The head of this eagle-headed griffin is characterized by a crest curving down his head and neck, an angular beck whose upper part sharply extends down, absence of pointed, elongated ears, and round eyes [figures 22:1-4]. This type of bird head finds most direct paralleles in the Assyrian eagle-headed genii depicted on glyptic arts and, in particular, in the reliefs from the time of Ashurnasirpal where the beneficent "twin" genii are represented fertilizing the sacred tree. The mouth of this eagle's head is slightly open, with full visibility of an elongated and sharply pointed tongue, as if releasing a shriek (Collon 2001: 88; Paley 1976, figs. 2, 8, 12). Assyro-Babylonian glyptic appears to have carried this type of upright-mane, or crested, eagle-headed griffin motif into contest scenes ultimately inspired by the Old Babylonian 'Warrior King' motif (Collon 2001: 154, figs. 300, 336, 343, 344, 345, 347, 349).

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[220] Essarhaddon only mentions Ninurta a few times while Assurbanipal promoted the cult of Nabû ignoring Ninurta's (A. Annus 2002: 42-46).

[221] The three-figure context scene was seems to have been revived specifically at Babylonia during the 9th and 8th centuries BC and was adopted in Assyria explainable as the fusing of Assyrian and Babylonian styles after the fall of Babylon in 729 BC (Collon 2004: 165-66).

II.9.13.2. The eagle-headed griffin and the lion-headed griffin in Elam

The image of the eagle-headed griffin seems to be an Elamite invention, rare in Mesopotamian and common to Iranian and Elamite iconography, from where it seems to have reached Egypt.[222] Although the role played by the griffin in Elamite religious ideology remains to be determined, an indication of its popularity and importance in the Elamite pantheon is confirmed by its persistence in Elamite art. This observation is based on the presence of the Elamite eagle-headed griffin since the proto-urban and proto-literate periods at Susa (figures 34:3-5; Amiet 1972, pl. 12: 585, 587) and Chogha Mish (figures 34:1-2; Delougaz and Kantor 1996, plate 136, figs. c, e). The Elamite eagle-headed griffin was initially represented with a divided body sharing the front of a bird (forefeet with talons, bird head, and wings) and the back of a lion (tail and hind-quarters of a lion). This griffin is depicted in various positions and actions: sitting down, passing, or standing up confronting an upright, rearing, goat or ibex (see figure 34:4). During the third millennium BC, the bird-headed griffin seems to have disappeared from the Elamite iconographic record to reappear again during the Sukkalmah period (Khazai 1978: 3). The Old Elamite eagle-headed griffin bears already some of the distinctive traits of a Middle Elamite and Neo-Elamite griffin: a lock of hair sometimes identified as a horn in the middle of the head, stylized "shell-type" wings, and a bird "broom-type" of tail (Khazai 1978: 3).

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[222] Ghirshman 1966: 50; Boehmer 1974: 22f; Teissier 1987: 31; Wiggerman 1994: 239; Delougaz and Kantor 1996: 148, with reference to P. Amiet 1957: 126, 1972: 76. H. Frankfort documented the thesis that Syria was the original home of the griffin (Frankfort 1936: 106-122). This theory was maintained for a number of years, "the eagle-headed griffin appears in Syria at least by the eighteenth century BC, was picked up by the Mitannians and Assyrians in the second half of the second millennium, and in the first millennium became popular in almost all art-production centers" (Goldman 1960: 321), until the glyptic evidence from Susa revealed the eagle-headed griffin was a home at Susa since the protoliterate period (Amiet 1972, pl. 12: 585, 587).

In a particular way, we should mention here the remarkable pair of glazed eagle-headed griffins originally guarding the northwestern entrance to the Tchoga Zanbil ziggurat (figure 25:1; Ghirshman 1966, plates XXXV, LXIX).[223] This pair of griffins faced the temples of the Elamite gods Napiriša,[224] his consort Kiririša, and Išnikarab. An incomplete inscription in Elamite language stamped on the back of the composite animals reveals that king Untaš-Napiriša dedicated this pair to the god Inšušinak (Steve 1967: 96-97, documents 54, 55, line 3). In the inscription the king introduces himself claiming that, "unlike former kings, he has made the animal out of *musiya*, glazed terra-cotta" (after Henkelman 2006: 92). The name of the animal is damaged in both inscriptions. According to Steve's transliteration, the likely name of this creature can be elucidated at the commencement of the inscription. The word in question was made of three signs, but unfortunately the first one is missing: *[x]-zu-um* (Steve 1967: 98, note 3).[225]

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[223] Pairs of guardian animals protected the four main entrances to the Ziggurat. Only remains of two bulls and two griffins were found (Ghirshman 1966: 49-50). Stamped inscriptions reveal they were dedicated to Inšušinak (Steve 1967: 95-98). The griffin here presented was painfully reconstructed by Tania Ghirshman after the remains of two griffins.

[224] The plan of Tchogha Zanbil presented by Malbran-Labat, after R. Ghirshman, replaces Napirisha for the temple of Nabû which stands between those of Ishnikarab and Kiririsha (Malbran-Labat 1995: 186); Yet on page 197, note 330, it is indicated that the temple of Nabû could be identified with the "temple carré sud", next to the *Porte Royale*.

[225] The Elamite word word *ki-zu-um*, "a sacred dwelling" has been suggested (König 1965: 178 followed by Hinz and Koch 1987: 495) but, as pointed out by F. Vallat (pers. comm.) (1) the word *kizzum* is always written with a double *z*; thus, the break in the inscription does not provide enough space to add the necessary *iz* and: (2) the word *kizzum* is reserved to texts from Susa never attested at Tchoga Zanbil. The word *kizzum* parallels at Susa the *siyan-kuk*, temple complex, from Tchoga Zanbil. *kizzum* is attested during the time of the Sukkalmah Atta-hušu and during the Shutrukid dynasty (Malbran-Labat 1995: 185, 189). In sum, *[x]-zu-um* must describe the name of the griffin guardian animal. I am most grateful to F. Vallat for his kind help (see also comments by W. Henkelman 2006: 192, nt. 416).

It was during the Middle Elamite period that, according to B. Goldman, the Elamite eagle headed griffin mutated with the lion-headed griffin (the roaring head being the result of this mutation) (Goldman 1960: 321-322).[226] Both hybrids, the roaring lion-headed griffin and the eagle-headed griffin, became a favorite motif of the people from Luristan and Susa. In particular, bronze cast cheek pieces for horse bits from Luristan include representation of a horned master or mistress of animals flanked by lion-headed rampant griffins standing on a pair of goats, or ibex. A variant of this theme introduces a pair of upright lion-headed griffin holding two ibex (figure 26:1; Moorey 1981: 43, fig. 154; 45, fig. 155). The structure of the composition closely recalls that of late second millennium glyptic (Matthews 1990) and polychrome figurative glazed tiles from Susa incorporating an eagle-headed griffin (Amiet 1966: 509, fig. 384).[227]

Pairs of upright bird-headed griffins engaged in some kind of confrontation scene are depicted in seals from Susa dated to the beginning of the 9th-8th centuries [figures 34:6-8]. The schematic griffin are characterized by a long hooked beak, long pointy ears, a protuberance on top of the forehead (a pompadour?), and an elongated, nervous, curved body with striated curved wings (Porada 1963: 44, fig. 44; Amiet 1972: plate 184, figs. 2124 and 2127).

From the small one-room chapel of the god Inšušinak (ca. 700 BC) located in south-eastern edge of the Acropolis at Susa come the remains of an "altar" decorated with glazed tiles [see figures 25:5, plate 73]. According to the reconstruction of the altar by P. Amiet, the altar's visible surface was decorated with rows of hybrid-monsters and animals. In particular, the top horizontal surface was reserved for the representation of bird-headed griffin framing a stylized palmette (Amiet 1966, fig. 395; 1967: 27; 1966, fig. 395; 1967: 27). This eagle-headed griffin is very closely matched by the one carved in low relief on a faience square box from the Apadana at Susa (Sb 2810) whose manufacture has been dated to during the 9th-8th century BC [see figure 25:4] but whose similarities with the "altar" griffin invite a narrower, c. second half of the 8th century, date.[228] Both eagle-headed griffins are characterized by a protuberant full chest and slightly upright-curved wings; Lack of further detail prevents from knowing if the griffin from the altar also carries a straight forelock of hair and a neck band (of hair?). This type of griffin appeart to continue the tradition illustrated by 9th to 8th century seals from Susa seen above.

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[226] The representation on a seal from Tchoga Zanbil of a standing 'démon ailé, léontocéphale' holding four ibex on his paws and framed by two sacred-trees may indeed refer to this mutation (Porada 1970: 47, pl. 472, fig. 40).

[227] Dated to in between the 10th to the 8th centuries (10th-9th centuries; Porada 1965: 70, fig. 44; Heim ca. 8th century, RCS 206, fig. 144; Amiet 8th century, Amiet 1966: 508, fig. 383; for examples see Amiet 1966: 508-512 and Heim 1989).

Also pertinent to the present discussion is the identity of the Elamite god Inšušinak, 'Lord of Susa', one of the most important gods of the Suso-Elamite pantheon associated with vegetation and fertility, with protecting the weak, and guarantying the king's reign. Like the Mesopotamian god Nergal, he was god of the underground and the judge in charge of fixing the destiny of the dead (Steve 1987: text 25, note 157). The imagery and accoutrements of Inšušinak remain a hazardous topic of discussion beyond the scope of this paper.[229] If we follow Mesopotamian sources on this, textual and iconographic evidence recommends association between the griffin and the god Ninurta. As we have seen, the climax of the Mesopotamian Anzû epic is the confrontation of Ninurta and the roaring like-a-lion Anzû bird. The fact that a fragmentary version of the Anzû epic was found at Susa indicates this epic must also have been known to the inhabitants of this western Elamite capital.[230] As in the case of the Akkadian/Babylonian version, in the Susa version it is Enlil from whom Anzû steals the tablets and perhaps Marduk, the chief god in Babylonia, the god that restores the harmony of the world. Furthermore, a passage of the Anzû epic describing Ninurta indicates: "in Elam they give your name as *HURABTIL*, they speak of you as *SHUSHINAK* in Susa" (Dalley 1989: 220, tablet III). Additional weight to support a first millennium BC association between Ninurta and Inšušinak is found on in a tablet from the Kouyounkik collections from the time of Assurbanipal. Assyrian scribes incorporated copies of earlier tablets including Great God lists series. Thus tablet K. 4339 groups together the names of five Elamite gods assimilated to Ninurta; of these only Inšušinak is known from Elamite texts.[231] In keeping with the attested relationship between Nimrud and Arjan it has already been noted that the most important sanctuary of Ninurta in Assyria was at Nimrud until the destruction of the Neo-Assyrian empire.

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[228] E. Porada, followed by S. Heim, has connected this object with the Luristan bronze beakers dated to the 10th -9th century BC (Heim 1989: 220). Amiet however suggests the 8th-7th centuries (1966: 498-499, fig. 375), finally Heim recomends the 9th-8th century BC (Heim 1992: 207, fig. 145).

[229] Even if there is no one single text revealing his association with snake-dragons, P. de Miroschedji, followed by Amiet and Wiggerman, favored identification of the second millennium Elamite god of the snake-throne with Inšušinak (de Miroschedji 1981; Amiet 1988: 95, fig. 53; Wiggerman 1997: 45). Based on the argument that: (1) the Untaš-Napiriša stele was originally located at Tchoga Zanbil during the first period of the Ziggurat's construction;

To summarize, for millennia eagle-headed griffins seem to have played a significant role in the visual and ideological vocabulary of Elam to the point that it is

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and that (2) the upper register contained remains of a dedicatory inscription to Inšušinak by Untaš-Napiriša (de Miroschedji 1981: 13). For discussion about this identification see Carter 1988: 146-148 and Trokay 1991: 159, note 45.

[230] These fragments were translated by V. Scheil (1938: 14-25).

[231] Tablet K. 4339, reverse, column III, lines 1 to 5; King 1909; Information provided by F. Vallat on his discussion of Elamite religion (on-line). Additional Neo-Assyrian texts equate Napruša with Ea of Elam (Carter 1988: 147, nt. 6).

tempting to herald this hybrid as a definite manifestation of Elamite imagination and religious lore. By the first millennium BC there seems to have existed a theological rational in Assyria to identify Inšušinak as the Elamite counterpart of Ninurta. Yet, four other Elamite gods may claim the same distinction. One should remain cautious about these correspondences in view of the rather slender amount of autochthonous Elamite textual evidence and extant chronological gaps. On the other hand, despite the inability to identify the name of this hybrid with confidence, we have come to unveil indications of the various roles associated with griffins.[232] (1) In its offensive mythological role the griffin was an antagonistic force opposing the natural order; (2) In its association with the sacred tree and temple entrances, the griffin might be said to have an apotropaic, role defending the fertility of the land from evil influences; (3) In its direct association with a weather-type god the griffin's role evolved from that of a former foe to an acolyte exerting and representing divine mandate. As in the Anzû epic— where the victorious roaring griffin transformes without explanation from slain oponent to divine acolyte—the griffin integrated both principles of the natural world, initially opposing but, finally, submitting to the overarching harmonious balance of the universe. Further evidence of what might have happened to the character of the eagle-headed griffin comes from a small body of late Neo-Elamite cultic scenes in which a lion-headed griffin is associated with a worshiper and the sacred symbols of Nabû and Marduk.

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[232] See also B. Goldman (1960) and K. Khazai (1978).

II.9.13..3. The Spade, the Wedge, and the Griffin: notes on late Neo-Elamite Religion

Three sealings published by P. Amiet in the late Neo-Elamite glyptic series (1973) and one sealing found by P. de Miroschedji in the course of excavations of the "Ville-Royale-Apadana" in 1976 depict concrete iconographic evidence of the existence of a late Elamite deity embodied by a lion-headed griffin. Let us briefly review these sealings the most important of which is V-R 5244. This sealing was impressed on a jar stopper found at Susa inside a room at level 7B (trench 5244), north-west of the Ville-Royale, in the vicinity of the Apadana [figure 28:12]. The clay stopper bears an impression representing a standing griffin in front of the sacred symbols of Marduk and Nabû. Ville-Royale 5244 belongs to a well represented corpus of seals from Susa characterized by its small size (1-2 cm height), and a delicate and precise detail dated by de Miroschedji to the first half of the 6th century BC (P. de Miroschedji 1982: 56, fig. 3). Three additional sealings attributed to this corpus include a striding lion-headed griffin (Amiet 1973: plate VII, fig, 44; de Miroschedji 1982: 58, fig. 4: 1), and a worshiper wearing an ankle-length long dress with hands raised in a pleading gesture facing a roaring lion-headed griffin (Amiet 1973: plate VII, figs. 46, 47; de Miroschedji 1982: 58, figs 4: 2, 4: 3). The solitary lion-headed griffin sealing was found at Susa (de Miroschedji 1982: 58), the provenance of the two other seals is otherwise unknown [figures 28:10-11]. A fourth sealing bearing a similar cultic scene is also present on at least two tablets from Persepolis (figure 28:9; Amiet plate VI, seal 26; tablets 10266 and 10264). Although schematic in nature and lacking on detail, the five lion-headed griffins represented in these seals clearly share their main characteristics with the lion-headed griffin from Arjan: a curved neck, upright pointy ears, open jaws with possibly a protruding tongue (as observed in figures 65, 66), broad chest, strong claws of feline nature, and a broom-type tail.[233]

These seals provide persuasive evidence of a religious cultic practice centered on the worship of a god represented by an enraged lion-headed griffin, either depicted alone or in a triad accompanied by a spade (Marduk) and a wedge (Nabû). The identification of a griffin as a symbol of a late Neo-Elamite divinity whose name we are unable to confidently identify and its association with Nabû and Marduk, bears significant repercussions for our knowledge of late Neo-Elamite religion.

As hard as it is to establish religious boundaries based on the available evidence, the probable Elamitization or integration of Nabû and Marduk into the Elamite religious repertory seems to have taken place during the Middle Elamite period. In the case of Nabû, he entered the Elamite western pantheon of gods during or before the 13th century BC, attested by the temples to Nabû built at Susa and Tchoga Zanbil at the time of Untaš-Napiriša.[234] The Nabû sanctuary at Tchoga Zanbil temple is mentioned repeatedly in the tablets but no remains of the temple were found by Ghirshman (Steve 1987: 81, text 41; MDP 41, Tchoga Zanbil III).[235] Furthermore, the Neo-Elamite seal of prince Hupan-kitin depicts a triangular-headed spade or hoe (*marru*), symbol of Marduk and his acolyte hybrid-monster the snake-dragon [figure 13:6]. This seal is dated to the first half of the 6th century by de Miroschedji (1982: 61, fig. 5). From the same corpus of seals, a Babylonian style seal bearing an Akkadian inscription reads: "in misery and need our fortification is Marduk and Nabû, preservers of life" (Scheil 1907: 121, MDP 9, 90, 107, 123, 134; Amiet 1973: 9, plate II, fig. 6). As for Marduk, evidence of its cult in western Elam is rather weak but it can be justified in the grounds that it was only during the 12th century that this patron god of Babylon began to replace the older god Enlil as head of the pantheon in southern Mesopotamia. At any rate, theophoric names from Elamite texts bearing the divine names Marduk are well represented at Susa during the Neo-Elamite period.[236] Thus, we should anticipate Marduk/Bēl to have entered the Elamite religious pantheon near the end of the second millennium or near the beginning of the first millennium BC. In which case, it is most likely that by around ca. 600 BC these gods were longtime constituents of the diverse western Elamite religious scene. Additional evidence of this worship is once again attested by the presence of two additional late Neo-Elamite cylinder seals including the spade and the wedge of Nabû and Marduk. In the first example these symbols are depicted next to a finely carved winged androcephalic *lamassu*-type being with the body of a bull and the head of a bearded man with long

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[233] P. de Miroschedji failed to identify these "winged monsters" as griffin, despite describing them, for the most part, correctly (de Miroschedji 1982).

[234] Potts 1999: 212.

[235] Out of 141 stamped bricks, 85 were found arranged inside a storage room and 32 were found in the southern sector of the Ziggurat. Steve thus proposes to locate the Nabû temple in the vicinity of this sector and suggests identifying the Nabû temple with the Temple Carré Sud (Steve 1967: 81, text 41). This temple has a square plan with external dimensions of 17X17m with alternative 2.7 m long projections and 5 m long entrants. In addition, a "marru of Nabû" inscription found along the rod of a copper made triangular-headed spade or hoe was found at Tchoga Zanbil. The rod of the spade was carved with the body of a serpent. This symbol of Marduk was found inside a narrow hallway located in the Northwestern side of the ziggurat (de Mecquenem 1938: 17, fig. 1). The dating of this 0.546 m long object remains unclear. According to R. de Mecquenem, the object was found on top of a small square pillar (1 X 0.5 m) located in the middle section of a 10.10 X 2 meters hallway. The hallway was located 1.16 meters over the pavement belonging to the base of the ziggurat. This location

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would indicate that the building to which this hallway belonged postdates the construction of the Tchoga Zanbil Ziggurat by Untash-Napirishna (de Mecquenem 1938: 129-130).

[236] Tempt, or "Lord", is the Elamite translation of the Akkadian Bēl, which was one of the names of the god Marduk. It is thus possible that Tempt may have referred to Marduk but also "Lord" may have been used to designate other Elamite gods (Koch 1995: 1961). Non-exhaustive list: Marduk son of Kutur (MDP 9: 108, rev. 6), Marduk son of Kuturna (MDP 9: 136, 2), Marduk son of Zari (MDP 9: 126, 9), Marduk father of Huban dannan (MDP 9: 209, 8), Mardukâ (MDP 9: 170, 6).

curved goat's horns (Amiet 1973: 281, seal 2183; plate 187);[237] in the second example there is the additional presence of a capride, two bulbous circles, a star, and the moon crescent (Amiet 1973: 280, seal 2165; plate 187). The presence of time-honored Mesopotamian gods in the western Elamite pantheon during the Neo-Elamite period should hardly be a surprise given the traditionally diverse cultural personality of Susa and its notable Mesopotamian orientation.

If the proposition introduced here proves to be accurate, namely: that Elam in the late Neo-Elamite period withnessed the presence of a religious cultic practice centered on the worship of a god represented by a roaring lion-headed griffin, either depicted alone or in a triad accompanied by a spade (Marduk) and a wedge (Nabû), we should entertain the likelihood this cult might have existed as well in regions traditonally associated with Elam. In this regard, it was previously noted that the enraged Assyrian lion headed-griffin appears to have been almost totally displaced by the end of the 8th century BC by an eagle-headed griffin.[238] One indication of this transformation comes in the form of Assyro-Babylonian style seals that post-date the fall of Babylon in 729 BC. Bird-headed griffins participate in two and three figure-contest scenes of Babylonian and Assyrian origin. These seals are of different styles and dates.[239] The antithetical scene with a hero between two rampant eagle-headed griffins with extended arms suggest these seals range from the late 8th century to perhaps the late 6th century BC (Collon 2001: 175-178). A much admired seal, in particular, calls for our attention given its analogies with the Arjan griffin. The seal carries an Aramaic inscription *hdtkl* and a detailed representation of a bird-headed griffin depicted with wings with the back one upper-most, a broom-tail, broad chest, and V extended arms. This seal is dated to the end of the 8th beginning of the 7th centuries BC (Collon 2001: 177, plate XXIX, seal 349; see also Moortgart 1940: 150, Tafel 86, fig. 732). So far none of these representations support the allegation made for the late Elamite enraged lion-headed griffin namely, that the Mesopotamian eagle-headed griffins represent a divine acolyte. There is yet one important exception to quarrel with this point.

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[237] Compare this seal with the seal of Shuktiti, son of Huban-ahpi of a style "which combines strong modeling with a tendency to divide the musculature into discrete decorative parts, together with the somewhat exaggerated postures, may demonstrate an Elamite legacy that is manifest in the art of the Achaemenid empire" (J. Aruz 1992: 213).

[238] One seal with a lion-griffin "is a rare example of a lion-griffin in the glyptic of this period (Collon 2004: 166; plate xxx, fig. 353).

[239] Collon 2001, plate XXV: 299, 300; three figure heraldic contest, Collon 2001, plate XXIX: 342-351. See also Mallowan 1966: 257, seal fig. 230.

The exception regards to elite sealing of rare characteristics used by the governor of the city of Assur in 648 BC. The seal includes a double register, without doubt representing two cultic scenes: the upper scene depicts a worshipper pointing with one hand and extending the other towards a warrior-type divinity and a number of divine symbols in the form of a winged solar disk, a moon-crescent, a bull, and an eagle-headed griffin [figure 17:3]. The lower register includes two worshipers on the sides of a spade, a wedge, seven dots, and two eagle-headed griffins (Klengel-Brandt and Radner 1997: 147). While a double-register seal is an anomaly in Neo-Assyrian glyptic, both registers by themselves include elements common to the Mesopotamian repertoire.[240] In particular the two worshippers and well-known divine symbols underscore the conspicuous presence of a pair of eagle-headed griffin on the lower register and a single eagle-headed griffin in the upper register. With this evidence in hand one is enticed to believe that indeed, the Neo-Assyrian repertoire of divine attributes included an eagle-headed griffin playing a religious role around the mid 7th century BC. An earlier indication of a cultic role associated with the figure of the Neo-Assyrian eagle-griffin may be suggested by the 9th century BC copper open-work plaque found at Fort Shalmaneser mentioned here in connection with the Arjan ring. This plaque depicts a heraldic composition very similar to that found in the Arjan ring, combining a sacred tree sprouting from a goblet between a pair of antithetical winged eagle-headed griffins. As mentioned previously, this plaque is suspected to have carried royal decorative acouterments belonging to a throne or a couch.

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[240] Thus Collon 2001, plate XI, figs. 137-140; plate XIV, fig. 175; plate XX, fig. 249.

To sum up, this discussion has centered on the role of lion and eagle headed griffins in the Neo-Elamite pantheon and explored possible manifestations of the griffin in associated Mesopotamian visual record. The evidence from Elam indicates a certain synthesis of the eagle-headed griffin into the lion-headed griffin during the Middle Elamite period while the evidence from Assyria suggests just the opposite, after the fall of Babylon in 729 BC the lion-headed griffin appears to have been supplanted by an eagle-headed griffin. The bird-headed griffin continues to be represented at Susa during the Neo-Elamite period, as attested by the ca. 700 BC altar from the temple of Inshushinak and the late 8th century faience box from the Apadana at Susa. At the same time, at some point during the 7th century BC, if not earlier, the lion headed griffin seems to have adquired a position as cultic symbol in both the Assyrian and the Elamite religious pantheons; in addition, there might be additional evidence to suggest that a comparable phenomenon was witnessed in lower Mesopotamia.[241] The evidence from the Arjan ring does indeed add further strength to this theory and, together with the representations of the enraged lion-headed griffin in the Luristan material and in late Neo-Elamite seals, advocates a key religious and symbolic role for this hybrid creature.

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[241] Seal 264 from Ur includes the symbols of Nabû and Marduk and clearly depicts a winged animal with upright ears and short tail said by D. Collon to be a mušhuššu. Seals 265 (from Nimrud) and 266 (from Ur) also include the symbols of Marduk and Nabû but the quadruped here has no wings (see Collon 2001, plate XXI).

At the same time, the identity of the late Neo-Elamite griffin acolyte of a weather god within the Neo-elamite religious pantheon remains ambiguous. During the 7th and 6th centuries BC the Elamite religious scene presents a large heterogeneous group of gods some of which are well known (such as Inšušinak, Napirisna, Nahhunte, Pinigir, Lagamal, etc), and some less popular or previously unknown (such as Tepti, Lali, etc); The most popular god however was Hu(m)ban. According to the previous analysis of the lion-headed griffin, we should look for a weather-type Elamite such as the 8th century BC Assyrian Ninurta for a likely nominee among the Neo-Elamite divinities. Unfortunately, the available Elamite documents are not very informative regarding the character of these gods.

To conclude, the possibility that the cults of Marduk and Nabû were already well entrenched in Elam by the end of the 7th century BC or the first half of the 6th century BC also bears on the subject of early Achaemenid-Persian religious beliefs. A case in point requiring further analysis refers to the restoration fo the cults of Nabû and MArduk and the celebrated visit of Cambyses and Cyrus to the Ezida and the Nabû temples after the conquest of Babylon in 539 BC (see Brosius 2000: 8-12). From an Elamite view-point, the alleged existance of Elamite based cults of Marduk and Nabû in western Elam substantially deemphasizes the exclusive Babylonian character of these gods and, therefore, has the potential to remove much weight from the often stated claim that Cyrus' theological justification for the conquest of Babylon was product of calculated political opportunism. Leaving aside the thorny issue of the real or perceived cultural identity of Cyrus, we should wonder whether *Cyrus's voiced* worship and restoration of Marduk and Nabû was justifiable in the grounds that, as suggested here, these gods were at home in western Elam. There are a number of hurdles to jump before propossing this idea confidently; if anything, because we are just beginning to understand the specific political and religious status of Elam at the time of Cyrus'conquest of Lydia and Babylon. Yet, at the end, and to speculate even further, it is through the Elamite lense spoused in these pages that emerge a set of factors inviting the possibility that the recognition of Nabû and Marduk by Cyrus was not necessarily playing to a Mesopotamian audience alone.

II.9.14. The Griffin after Elam

II.9.14.1. Notes on the Persian Griffin

There is little doubt that the griffin, if not the most characteristic animal of Persian art (Khazai 1978: 6), seems to be one of the most popular composite mythological beasts of Persian artistic vocabulary. Both the eagle-headed griffin and the lion-headed griffin do play a privileged role on the monumental architectural, sculptural, glyptic, and precious arts of the Achaemenid empire (Azarpay 1959: 334). The ubiquitous existence of these two closely related imaginary animals in the artistic identity of the Persians invites to claim their presence as an additional expression of significant continuity between Elam and Persia. Let us review this claim by briefly looking at lion-headed and bird-headed griffin manifestations in three main corpus of Persian art: monumental art from Susa and Persepolis and achaemenid glyptic art.

The enameled tile friezes from the Palace of Darius I at Susa present some of the earliest indication of a decorative program seeking to incorporate traditional Elamite artistic decorative tradions.[242] The reconstructed pannels include heraldic lions and sphinxes with tall cylindrical headdresses made in glazed brick decoration—a trademark, if not an invention, of the Elamites. In particular, the passing lion-headed griffins, winged bulls, and stridding lions were rendered from clay of exceptional quality using unique firing techniques permitting modeling of great detail and delicacy (Caubet 1992: 223).[243] Above all, the roaring faces of the lion-griffin, detail volumes and carefulluy identified stylized musculature which includes almond-shaped features on the thight, are evocative of the refined Elamo-Assyrian type of lion-headed griffin represented in the Arjan griffin [see figures 37: 1-2].[244]

The representation of roaring lion-headed griffins in monumental and glyptic arts of the Achaemenid-Persians presents substantial degees of variation. [245] One representation from a chalcedony cylinder, however, stands iconographically appart in that it stresses the beneficent, protective, role of the beast by including a heraldic scene composed of two sitting lion-headed griffin with their lion forelegs in V-shape framing a stylized tree of life. The scene is supervised by the overheading symbol of Ahuramazda (Collon 1987: 29, fig. 864; Merrillees 2005, fig. 55; Razmjou 2005: 158, fig. 205). Additionally, there is evidence form the Persepolis glyptic corpus of seals to stress continuity of cult centered on the figure of the lion-headed griffin. One seal from Persepolis already published by P. Amiet as part of his late Neo-Elamite corpus of seals illustrates a religious scene centered on the worship of a lion-headed griffin [see figure 28:9].[246]

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[242] For the dating of the reliefs see discussion by A. Farkas (1974: 41).

[243] The griffins and the bulls were foun in a courtyard; the roaring lions were found at the north wall of the eastern court of the palace (Caubet 1992: 224).

[244] The uprigth curved wigngs recall those of the c. 1000 BC and c. 700 BC bird-headed Elamite griffin represented from Susa represented on seals, in the physix, and on top of the Ishushinak "altar" (figures 19:6, 19:8; 10:4, 10:5). Taken alltogether, this information provides additional ammunition against the idea that the main sources of inspiration and technological practice for the glazed reliefs at Susa came from Babylon.

[245] See Garrison and Root 2001 (part 1: Text), pages 121-148, 203, 304-308, 340-348, 387-394, 421.

Contrary to the copious presence of the lion-headed griffin, the evidence from Persepolis stone reliefs and glyptic arts suggest a marked distinction between the roaring lion-headed griffin (also known as a leo-gryph) and the eagle-headed griffin. In both cases though, these two related beasts, together with a single lion or a single bull, represent the main opponents of the royal hero in his role as defender of the stability of the world. In the Throne Hall—whose artistic program was planned under Darius I (522-486 BC)—the royal hero stabs a bird-headed griffin located on each side of door jambs [figure 35:4]. According to both E.F. Schmidt anfd M.C. Root, these representations are not duplicated in relief elsewhere at Persepolis (Root 1979: 107; Schmidt Persepolis I: 137). Special interest in the bird-headed griffin was again manifested in the audience scene attributed to Darius I or Xerxex I;[247] a relief found in the Treasury but originally the centerpiece of the decoration on the north side of the Apadana (Curtis 2005: 36, fig. 21). Here a bird-headed griffin similar to the one appearing in the Throne Hall, forms the familiar heraldic image of a griffin framing a stylized tree of life [plate 36]. This composition was to garnish the royal sword carried by the armsbearer of the king. Compelling comparaissons between this image and the rampant lion-headed griffin represented in the Arjan ring suggests direct link between the artistic production generated in Arjan and that of Persepolis (see Stronach 2003: 253). This type of bird-headed griffin is also represented in the Apadana tribute frieze as a pair decorating the handles of a vase brought by one member of a delegation (figure 35:3; Walser 1966: plates 38-39) and as finials of a bracelet carried by of a member of another delegation (figure 35:2; Walser 1966: plate 47 and 49). In addition to the throne Hall, and Apadana representations, the bird-headed griffin is attested in a three-dymensional capital found on the northern part of the Persepolis terrace [figure 35:1]. The importance of the bird-headed griffin extends to the precious arts, [248] the coinage art of Lycia,[249] and Eurasian artistic vocabulary.[250] In sum, the bird-headed griffin of the time of Darius and Xerxes I belongs to a standard noble category of griffin characterized by a hawk-looking head supporting a curved open beak revealing the tongue, pointed donkey-type long ears, a small crest on the head and, for those depicting the appendages, lion forelegs and bird claws for hindquarters (as evidenced by the presence of talons). As for the meaning of the heroic encounter between the king and the griffin, the placement of the sculptures on doorjambs reveals that they were to be understood as hostile, apotropaic, forces attempting to intrude into the

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[246] A second unpublished seal from Persepolis bears matching imagery (M. Garrison personal comm).

[247] The actual identity of this king remains inconclusive. Some authors suggest it portrays Xerxes I while others see a depiction of Darius I (see Benoit 2003: 457, note 3). As far as the bird-headed griffin from the royal sword reveals, it seems to closely follow the models developped during the time of Darius. It is most likely that, as suggested by D. Stronach (pers. comm.), the master plan for the sculptural progam was already developed by Darius but ennaced during the time of Xerxes.

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[248] Griffin in precious arts, in particular the gold armlet with griffin finials in the Victoria Albert Museum (Pope and Ackerman 1938: 113 A); the silver rython with griffin end (Pope and Ackerman 1938: 114)

[249] Thus representations of the Persian lion-headed griffin and the bird-headed griffin from the coinage of Kuprlli (see Morkhol and Zahle 1972, and Zahle 1991).

[250] Three types of griffin have been recognized represented in Pazyryk: a realistic type with a head protuberance, a Greek type, and an Achaemenian type (Azarpay 1959: 326); According to Azarpay, a new type of griffin developped in Greek art during the 4th century BC under Persian influence. This is a powerfully bird-headed built feline with ears and a long mane resembling fins (the earlier dentated, saw-tooth, mane, a characteristic feature of Assyrian griffins, disapearing in favor of the fish-fin shaped mane (Azarpay 1959: 328).

Throne Hall (Root 1979: 307). There is an important sense of directionality in these representations apparently negating the bening and protective nature of the griffin.

A continuing evaluation of the role of the bird-headed griffin in Persia has to rely on the glyptic evidence and, in particular, on the well-dated and cocumented corpus of published seals from Persepolis. Most relevant and in contrast, once again, to the more plentiful representations of lion-headed griffin, the restricted presence of bird-headed griffin in this corpus of seals invites to believe that this beast enjoyed a significant role in its association with the Achaemenid aristocratic elites. About seven seals whose earliest date of application ranges from 503 to 494 BC include representation of bird-headed griffin of marked stylistic variety and diversity of motifs such as type of tail, hindlegs, and presence of a horn (?).[251] Two seals in particular stand out as having been used by high level officials.[252] Seal PFS 1, inparticular, has left 233 impressions and includes an Elamite inscription of problematic interpretation [figure 22:6].[253] The rounded hawk-type head of the griffin reveals similarities with the griffins from the sulptural reliefs. Except for the absence of ears, this head reveals a short and rounded neck, which integrates into the larger oval shape of the head. In sum, it could be argued that a standarized type of bird-headed griffin was developed during the time of Darius who enjoyed a particular place in the visual and ideological imagery of the time.[254]

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[251] The bird-headed griffin from the Throne Hall includes appears to be a horn (but in the lion he grabs a forelock!, Schmidt 1957: 137)

[252] Seal PFS 103 belonged to Šanau, son of Šati-Huban while seal PFS 79 belonged to an unknown official. PFS 513 may be a heirloom from the Neo-Assyrian period.

[253] The word *Unsak* is included in this inscription. F. Vallat, understands *Unsak* as a personal name; Still, we don't know with certainty who this *Unsak* was or from where the *Unsakean* people came from (see Vallat 1992); F. Vallat has further suggested possible association with the kingdom of Samati (Vallat 2000: 30; 2002: 4). Incidentally, Kurluš, the father of Kiddin-Hutran (whose name is engraved in four objects found in the Arjan tomb), is seemingly identified in the economic and administrative tablets from Susa as a merchant and/or emissary associated with *Unsak*.

To summarize this brief, and non-exaustive, review of lion and bird headed griffin in Persian arts, it would appear that both hybrid beasts were soundly integrated in the visual repertory and imagination of the time. Notably, the popularity of the lion-headed griffin versus the more restricted use of the bird-headed griffin denotes difference in their significance. Yet, despite their close association with the figure of the king and Achaemenid elites, we lack evidence forstering a concrete ideological religious or political role. It is relevant that an argument was made claiming that the lion-headed griffin was used in coinage of Alexander the Great as "a manifesto of is claim to the sovereignity of Persia" (Hall 1923: 161). That the lion headed griffin might have been associated with Persia may perhaps reflect a phenomenon temporarily attested in the coinage of Lycia, namely: that this particular hybrid was selected as heraldic symbol of the Achaemid rulers. At any rate, whether for political or religious reasons, the bird-headed griffin seems to hold a particularly privileged place in the visual grammar of the Persian empire.

As for the lion-headed griffin, we observe an interesting seemingly contradictory message where this hybrid is both represented as object of divine worship and as an adversary force opposing the royal figure. It would have been expected to assume that prior associations with Elamite religious beliefs were gradually deemphasized during the Achaemenid Persian period while the traditional allegoric fundamental double nature of the griffin as guardian protector of passage ways and the sacred tree, and its adversary (but complementary) role in mythological combats were retained. Yet, as the present evidence reveals, this seems not to have been the case. In fact, as suggested by W. Henkelman (2006), and confirmed by the present study, it would appear that a more complex, multilayered, and diverse religious scene that had previously been though was presented in the visual record as well as in the earlier textual record of the Persian empire. Indeed, the sacred properties of the griffin, in addition to the unique fabulous double nature of the beast, accounted for its survival in the imagination of future generations.

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[254] See Garrison and Root 2001, pages 160-168 and 272 (seals PFS 981, PFS 1, PFS 79, PFS 103, PFS 513, PFS 819, and PFS1483). For seals of unprovenance origin see *Wiseman Cylinder Seals of Western Asia,* figure 113; Merrillees 2005: 78, seal 87; Collon 2005: 125, fig. 87).

II.9.14.2. The Griffin in Western Imagination

The tracing of artistic continuity across cultural and temporal boundaries reveals more than the survival of an image. This continuity attests to a successful dialectic progression between the imagination and a visual support. I would like to bring to a close this study of the Arjan ring by alluding to remarkable iconographic and ideological parallels between the ancient Near Eastern griffin and the Western Maedieval griffin. These parallels, I will suggest, reveal the work of a shared imagination expressed in the form of cosmic, mythological, and theological allegories. Indeed, the griffin entered western litterature and imagination under the perceptions impossed by the East.

It is certainly simplistic, but not overstatement, to indicate that few legendary hybrid creatures have arisen western imagination further than the griffin. Whether it is the eastern gold-guardian griffin of Greek imagination (who materializes pulling the heavenly chariot of the sun god Apollo and that of Alexander the Great) or the Christian griffin drawing a triumphal chariot (traditionally interpreted as an allegory of the mystery of the Incarnation, a single person in two natures, a symbol of Christ),[255] the image of the griffin permeates accross ideological and temporal barriers and emerges as one of the most enduring fictional images of all time. Yet, we all recognize nowadays, this twofold master of the terrestrial and aerial realms never existed but is a creation of the imagination.[256]

As indicated in this pages, by the time the image of the griffin reaches the Persian period, it carried traditional dominant themes associated with its supernatural nature: a guardian of thresholds in temples and palaces, protector of the sacred tree, a messenger of the gods, and an adversary (but complementary) force in mythological combats. Alltogher or independently, these properties, in addition to the unique fabulous dual nature of the beast, accounted for the griffin's survival in the imagination of future generations.

The Greek imagination situated a gold-guardian griffin in the eastern boundry, at the edge of the earth. Two main sources seem to have been at the origin of this account. A poem attributed by Herodous to Aristeas of Proconnesus suggests the land where the griffin lived was inhabited by the one-eyed Arimaspi.[257] A second source introduced by Ctêsias in his description of "Indika" mentions the gold-guardian griffin in the vicinity of India and Bactria, on a territory inhabited by small men avobe "high-towering mountains which are inhabited by the griffins, a race of four-footed birds, about as large as wolves, having legs and claws like those of the lion, and covered all over the body with black feathers except only on the breast where thay are red" (McCrindle 1882: 17, 44). It is unnecessary to comment here on the sources and historicity of these two accounts—both of which have been challenged and interpreted variously[258]—what is of interest, however, is that both stories concur on a common eastern origin for the griffin and on its association with gold (see Bolton 1962). Somewhat, the griffin's association with gold and with the eastern edge of the earth fostered a link whith sunrise. Consequently, Greco-Roman and Sassanian mythology associated the griffin with kingship and solar symbolism. Thus, flying teams of griffins drew the sun chariots of Helios of his Syrian counterpart Malachbel, and Apollo [figure 37:6].

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[255] For a different view see P. Armour 1989.

[256] For arguments in favor of prehistoric "griffins" as origins of fossil-inspired folklore see Mayor and Heaney 1993: 40-65).

[257] Herodotus, *History* III: 116; IV: 13, 27. Pliny in his *Natural History* mentions the one-eyed Arimaspians fought for metals with griffins living in the north, near the land of the Scythians. Solinus follows a similar source. Aelian and Philostratus follow the tradition that griffins lived in India, and likewise where the guardinans of gold. Servius, Claudian, and Sidonius Apollinaris refer to the griffins pulling the chariot of Apollo. St Isidore, one of the major sources for geographical and other lore in the Middle Ages, locates the griffin both in India, and in Scythia, the home of the best emeralds. Honorius *Image of the World* begins by

The heroic deeds of Alexander the Great adquired mythological proportions intermingling fact and fiction. One of the adventures abscribed to him was a divine journey through the sky in a chariot drawn by griffins [figure 37:8]. According to a recent study of the iconography of the flight of Alexander "no other episode from the

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placing the eartlhy Paradise in the Far East and moved on to deal with India and the Golden Mountains with their griffins (for references see Armour 1989: 18-21).

[258] The etymology,of the name Arimaspi suggests early Iranian mediation for the tale. J.D.P. Bolton has indicated that the tale of Aristeas accuraqtely reflects the historical background of migrant nomadic peoples of Indo-european background. Likewise, it is not improbable that Ctêsias, a physician to the royal court of Darius II in around 416 BC, repeated legends as he heard them from the Persians and the Indians who sojourned in the Persian capital. In fact, according to McCrindle, Ctêsias communicated to the Greeks "the mass of knowledge on Indian matters and the form which they had assumed among the Persians, and had marked thereby the extent of the knwoledge gained regarding India before the time of Alexander" (Lassen's review of Ctesias' reports concerning India, 1874 in McCrindle 1882: 91).

life of Alexander was represented so often in the visual arts of Westen Europe and the Byzantine empire" (Schmidt 1995:1). How and why this particular passage became so popular remains the source of disagreement.[259] Textual sources have been traced to the Egypto-Greco romance known as *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* and historical accounts of Alexander.[260] The Roman Latin and vernacular griffin carried the Classic tradition a step further by integrating its unique identity into Christological theology.[261] Acccordingly, the beast which is a single person in two natures became the foundation of the traditional Christological theory interpreting the griffin as Christ, and which P. Armour identifies in a recent new interpretation as Rome, "a perfected, just, harnessed Rome according to the designs of God" (Armour 1989: 72).

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[259] The origin of the iconography and the textual narrative being two different things, the exact origin of the story of Alexander's flight in a griffin-drawn vehicle has so far remained obscure. Iconographically, according to V. Schmidt, there are two main traditions behind the representation of Alexander's chariot: an eastern Byzantine tradition and a western version. The eastern Byzantine iconographic tradition already included the encompasing theme of a 'frontal figure in chariot with a deployed team' while the western versions adopted a freer interpretation of the motif (V. Schmidt 1995: 24). In addition, a second visual tradition includes Alexander and his griffins without the chariot. V. Schimdt sees here a separate tradition representing the Master of Animals (V. Schmidt 1995: 25-26). See also the remarkable study of C. Settis-Frugoni (1973).

[260] According to D.J.A. Ross, *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* was the ultimate source of knowledge of Alexander the Great for the average illiterate or semieducated common man from late Antiquity to the Renaissance. This work survives in dozens of versions and translation from Java to France, including the Armenian, Syriac, Aethiopic and Persian versions (Ross 1988:2). *Pseudo-Callisthenes* combines various sources that were put together by an indivual living in Alexandria "of very mediocre intelligence". The date of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes,* "that strange mixture of inaccurately reported fact and fantastic fiction" is placed in the 3rd century AD (Ross 1988: 4). The Alexander of history as represented by his secretary Eumenes of Cardia and Ptolemy survive for us only in the excerpts preserved by Arrian and other late writers (Ross 1988: 5).

[261] Only the accounts of Latin writers regarding the flight of Alexander were available throughout the Middle Ages. According to C. Settis-Frugoni, it was during the 10th century when the Latin version (Historia Preliis) of the Greek original (Pseudo-Kallisthenes) was made (see K. Langedijk 1976: 283). Accounts by the Greek historical writers Arrian, Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus were made known to Western Europe only at the Renaissance. Arrian preserves the 'good' tradition of the history of Alexander going back principally to sources from Alexander's lieutenant Ptolomy I Soter of Egypt and to a much lesser extent to Aristubulus (Ross 1988: 67, 80).

The image of the griffin-rider of the East is well attested in Sassanian arts and seems to have been embedded with powerful magical association during the Islamic period (figure 37:7; L'Orange 1953: 72). Islamic talismanic bronze mirrors had the distinctive property of predicting the future. These mirrors, cast into circular shapes, usually smooth on the face and decorated in low relief on the back, were dipped in ink or animal blood, and the resulting pattern could then be "read". Most scholars ascribe the manufacture of these mirrors to Iran (12th to 14th centuries AD). Interestingly, the most communly represented motif on the mirrors is the image of two addorsed heraldic human headed sphinxes framing a central floral branch (Brosh 1986: 74). It is, once again, a variant representatrion of the protector of thresholds, who would seize those who violate the sanctity of the holy tree, or holy places.

The image of the griffin attained a privileged place in Maedieval mystical imagination through the visionary poetic imagination of Dante Alighieri. According to Dante, that the image of a griffin pulling a chariot symbolized a proclamation of divine decree manifesting the heavenly truth of salvation, the foundation of the perfect world announced by the coming of the Christ (the griffin) and his church (the chariot). This was not apocalyptic proclamation but the end product of an earthly historical process and the beginning of new one by which Dante's "twofold –monster" emerges as the fulfillment of a long-sought yearning; for he becomes the agent of deliverance reversing the Fall by triumphally restoring Paradise on earth.

II.10. THE DAGGER

A 35.6 cm long dagger[262] was found lying parallel to the left side of the skeleton (plate 38). The dagger has a badly corroded iron blade with a hilt perhaps made of ivory[263] and a *quillon* wrapped in gold foil decorated with granulation in the form of opposed triangles (plate 39). The upper part of the hilt is furnished with a circular gold bracteate divided into chambers on the shape of a rosette. Each of the rosette's eight leafs, were inlaid with red colored glaze. It is most likely that another glazed rosette was also originally located on the opposite side of the hilt. The top of the pommel was adorned with a round piece of white agate with a brown spot in the center resembling the pupil of an eye (a 'tiger-eye' agate), and set in a gold frame decorated with granulations (see plate 29: 70; Towhidi and Khalilian 1982; 272 ff).

This type of dagger appears to have no correspondences with any of the known Luristan, Neo-Assyrian, Babylonian, type of daggers. The Neo-Elamite type of dagger has been identified as "a pointed dagger with a characteristic convex rounded pommel set in a scabbard with an asymmetrical extension" (see Potts 1999: 343, plate 9.6). This is the dagger portrayed on Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid reliefs, and on a Neo-Elamite wall application (Stronach 1989: 277; Potts 1999: 342-344; Henkelman 2003: 191).

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[262] A length of 31 cm is reported by Alizadeh (1989: 52); 35.6 cm is the measure taken by this author upon close examination of the object.

[263] This object has not been chemically analyzed so as to determine the nature of the bone.

Distant relatives to the Arjan dagger may be found in two late 7th century BC Ziwiye daggers.[264] One example has an iron blade with limestone handle overlaid with silver foil. Its length is ca. 24 cm long (Ghirshman 1964: 118, fig. 159). The second dagger has an iron blade with bone handle lined inside with thin bronze leaf, and a silver pommel. Its length is ca. 28.5 cm long (Ghirshman 1964: 118, fig. 160). These daggers may perhaps be associated with a Zagros type of dagger type whose origin may go back to a "trans-caucasian" type of iron dagger attested in numerous locations of the Caucasus between the 12th and 9th centuries BC (Martirosjan 1964: 197). The Iron Age site of Akhtamir (Armenia), in particular, burial 303 contained a iron made dagger with the central hilt made of wood. It also has a granulated quillon. This dagger is closely related to those found in Elar-Darani and Kalakent (Pons 2001: 37). An iron dagger found in the site of Makarash (presently held at Kirovakan) may have a lower date (Martirosjan 1964: 204, fig. 79).

The use of granulation in the form of opposed triangles can be said to be at home in Elam. (1) An object interpreted by de Mecquenem as a foundation nail (but a whetstone according to F. Tallon) found at Susa combines a long schist stone (10 cm long) on a lion head made of gold (2.2 cm long, de Mecquenem 1905: 132, pl. XXIV; Tallon *RCS*: 149, fig. 91; Louvre Sb 2769). The head is attached to the stone with a band delicately decorated with filigree and granulation forming the shape of triangles (fig. xxx). This object has been dated to the Middle Elamite period (Tallon *RCS*: 149). (2) A second object bearing this characteristic motif is a stunning golden pendant found inside one of the Elamite levels of the Apadana. The pendant is made of delicate granulation also in the shape of little triangles opposite each other (de Mecquenem 1922: 137, plate VIII).[265]

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[264] For the problems dealing with the 'Ziwiyew and K/Qaplantu materials see Muscarella 2000.

In sum, given the present state of knowledge, it appears the Arjan dagger may be an anomaly in the Elamite context and the only one of its kind. Given the similarities however with the Ziwiye daggers and with a certain north-west Iranian tradition represented in the regions associated with Urartu, one may tentatively advocate for the influence of a broad Zagros tradition in the Arjan dagger, but this remains to be confirmed.

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[265] During the 1922 and 1923 excavation sessions, there is note to the presence under the '*central parvis*' (Central courtyard) of the Achaemenid palace in the Apadana of a necropolis made of large and small corbel-vaulted tombs and reversed terracotta bathtub coffins (de Mecquenem 1980: 29). Inside one of these tombs and next to one of these bathtub coffins there was "a silver helmet, a golden ring and bracelet and an early second millennium bitumen round bowl tripod" (de Mecquenem 1980: 29; for the bowl see RCS 1001: fig. 63).

II.11. THE SILVER TUBE

This object had already been removed from the tomb by the time the archaeologists arrived at the site and its original location could not be determined (Alizadeh 1985: 54). It is thus unclear if the silver tube was indeed found inside the sarcophagi and what its relation is with the rest of the material. This object is described as a silver hollow tube ca. 1 cm in diameter, now broken into three fragments, measuring a total of 44.7 cm in length (see plate 40). Fragment I measures 19 cm long, fragment 2 measures 18.5 cm long, fragment III measures 7.2 cm long and ends on a hollow conical head perforated with numerous small holes. It is apparent by the break at the base of the silver tube that it originally was part of a much larger object. The function of this tube is mysterious. I would tentatively suggest two possibilities; that it was part of a luxurious wine/beer drinking filtering device or, perhaps, that it represents the missing head of incense gear. It is possible that future chemical analysis of sample remains from the interior of the head would provide an answer to its function.

OBJECS OUTSIDE THE SARCOPHAGI

II.12. THE ARJAN BOWL

The Arjan bronze bolw is one of the most extraordinary objects found in the Arjan grave. Its measures are unique, namely: a diameter of 43.5 cm and a depth of 8.5 cm, as are the incised decorations representing a complex set of associated narratives (see plates 41, 42, 84, 85, 86). Previous studies of the Arjan Bowl have considered its archaeological context (Tohidi and Khalilian 1982); chronology (Vallat 1984); and iconographic aspects (Alizadeh 1985; Majidzadeh 1990; Stronach 2000, 2003c, 2004a, 2004b; Alvarez-Mon 2004). A detailed study of the iconography of the bowl conducted by J. Majidzadeh determined that most features of the incised decoration found in the Arjan bowl were a product of Phoenician eclectic art combining Egyptian, Assyrian and Elamite features, in other words, "an excellent example of Phoenician art" (Majidzadeh 1990: 142). As to the date of the bowl, Majidzadeh indicated close iconographical parallels in the bowl with those represented in Neo-Assyrian reliefs at the time of Assurbanipal (668-627) placing the manufacture of the bowl in ca. 648-647 BC. (Majidzadeh 1990: 141; 1991: 94-95). There are stylistic analogies between the garments and weapons of the Elamite soldiers and those represented in the Tell-Tuba relief battle from the Southwestern palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh. The date for this war, which took place in 653 BC is used as the earliest possible date in which the bowl could have been made. In addition, D. Stronach's study of the 'Arjan Fort'represented on register IV (from the center) reveals striking similarities with comparable Neo-Elamite and Zagros military architecture common to the 7th and early 6th centuries BC (Stronach 2004b, figure 2).

Despite the wealth of designs depicted on the bowl, however, an articulation of the *visual narratives* on the bowl has not been attempted. The purpose of such an enterprise is twofold: to establish the uniqueness of the bowl in relation to comparable first millennium BC. bowls, and to reveal ideological and cosmological aspects manifested by the *visual culture* portrayed in the bowl. The term *visual narrative* refers to "the representation of a specific event, involving specific persons, where the action and persons might be historical, but not necessarily."[266] The term *visual culture* refers to the pattern of relationships from which meaning can be discerned.[267]

I shall try to persuade the reader that the images portrayed in the Arjan bowl are structurally divided into a series of consecutive episodes, the sequence of which is organized along ideological grounds. This correspondence between content and structure reveals itself first to the viewer across a division of five registers and one rosette separated by concentric circles and intertwined *guilloche* cablebands.[268] Carefully distributed among these registers lies a universe of miniature forms inhabited by 112 human figures, 66 animals of 33 species, diverse trees, and various artifacts.[269]

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[266] So Kraeling 1957: 43 in Winter 1982: 2. " In order to qualify as narrative, not only must a specific event rather than a generic event be pictured, but it must incorporate some coherent progression of events,' that is, the story must be 'told,' not 'implied." (Russell 1999: 95 as stipulated by Guterbock 1957: 62 and Winter 1982: 2). See as well Reade 1979a and Reade 1979b.

[267] Visual Culture, Visual Intelligence, and alike terms, cover an extensive field of semiotics concerned with the mechanisms by which cultures generate visual meaning. For more on these subjects the seminal studies by E. Panovsky and R. Arnheim should be consulted. Insofar the field of ancient near Eastern studies is concerned see I. Winter 1981.

[268] The latter design was a popular decorative motif which, in my estimation, may have represented water or, specifically, the underground, sweet, flowing water known to the Sumerians as the Abzu. The Abzu was the dwelling place of the god Enki, a symbol of fertility, regeneration, purification, and continuity.

[269] The drawing of the Arjan bowl was made by R. Vatandust. The drawings of each register were made by Y. Majidzadeh 1992: 137. I was able to verify the accuracy of the drawings through detailed digital photographs made by this author.

In seeking to compare the Arjan Bowl with the metallic bowls known as Phoenician and distributed throughout the Near East and the Mediterranean during the first millennium BC. (Markoe 1985), I take up a position which stands in sharp contrast to an alternative view stressing the strictly ornamental value of the bowls.[270] As we shall see, the adaptation of a typical Phoenician style by the Arjan bowl reveals the enormous influence of the Phoenician carving and engraving schools in articulating a distinctive international style of the period in question (Markoe 1985: 15).[271] Yet, I shall contend, the particular Phoenician stylistic vocabulary of the Arjan bowl did not preclude the artist, or whoever commissioned the work, from taking "infinite care to unify and integrate its decorations *(and narratives)* within a highly *(Neo-Elamite)* individual format."[272] Furthermore, the exceptional dimensions of the Arjan bowl, which reach a diameter of 43.5 cm and a depth of 8.5 cm, and which set it apart from any other "Syro-Phoenician" or Neo-Assyrian bowls,[273] also call in question its functional usage[274] and lead us to consign its "function" to an entirely symbolic world, the characteristics of which remain to be determined.

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[270] Position championed by Sir Leonard Woolley, for whom the "Syro-Phoenician" school responsible for the manufacture of the bowls was characterized by a combination of motifs deriving from different sources and reduced to a basically ornamental role (Woolley 1962: 108).

[271] Whether there is continuity between this artistic tradition and the earlier "International Style" of the Late Bronze Age remains to be seen (see M. Feldman 2002).

[272] So Markoe 1985: 1. The words in parenthesis are my own.

[273] Of eighty-two bowls classified as Phoenician by Glenn Markoe, seventy-six have a diameter of between 15 and 20 centimeters. Only six bowls have a diameter larger than 20 cm but less than 31cm (Bowls Cr4, Cr13, Cy10, E12, E13, and G7). Similar observations are made when comparing the dimension of the Arjan bowl with other contemporary bowls. The drinking bowls found or purported to have been found in Hamadan, Nimrud, Ur, Failaka, Susa, and Ashur have a diameter no larger than 17cm. (Hamilton 1966: 1-17).

[274] During libations and drinking ceremonies represented on Assyrian and Persian stone reliefs, the dignitaries hold the drinking bowl with one hand using either the palm or the fingers. This usage certainly applies to bowls measuring some 30 cm diameter or less and reveals that the Arjan bowl could not have been used as an individual drinking bowl.

II.12.1. ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY

REGISTER V

Register V (the outer register) divides into two narratives depicting a ceremony of drinking from a cup (Va) and the return of a hunting party (Vb). The two scenes are separated by mountain ranges.

Va. Drinking from a Cup Ceremony

Narrative Va depicts a scene whose central event is of a king-like[275] individual sitting on a throne and drinking from a cup. Behind him we observe two beardless attendants and two small persons inside a yurt-type portable dwelling.[276] In front of the king there are seven standing, bearded attendants dressed in ceremonial Assyrian-related outfits and arranged next to cross-legged tables. Further away from the king, two beardless personages, one holding a jar and the other holding a flywhisk, stand beside a table with two large jars and two animal-headed beakers. Except for the small individuals inside the yurt, all the other individuals wear a helmet with a rounded protuberance on top. These helmets also appear to have a visor in front, as well as a band with a row of rosettes (Majidzadeh 1990: 138).[277] The pointed visor is a characteristic feature of Elamite helmets, at least from the Middle-Elamite times;[278] As for the rounded protuberance on the top of the helmet, it appears to be at home in the Elamite world since the Sukkalmah period.[279]

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[275] Given the stylistic and iconographic parallels between Neo-Assyrian royal imagery and the high status individual represented throughout the Arjan bowl, the assumption made here is that we are dealing with a king. It should however be kept in mind that kings were not the only ones using royal imagery for status purposes (Reade 1972: 89).

[276] In order to discern the occupants inside the yurt the canopy has been removed and only the crown and the roof poles making up the frame of the yurt have been represented (Faegre 1979: 87). The representation of a yurt-type portable dwelling in the Arjan bowl carries the story of the yurt back to at least ca. 600 BC (Stronach 2004).

[277] It is possible that some of these helmets may include a pair of horns (see the atlantes figures in the Arjan stand below).

Vb. The Return of the Hunting Party

Narrative Vb depicts a king inside a horse-drawn box-like square-running chariot, accompanied by a driver and what appear to be a child and a small animal (for details see plates 42, 84-86). The chariot is located behind a suite of seven people dressed in ankle-long, ceremonial robes each of whom carries a large animal on his shoulders. Behind the chariot, a similarly dressed individual carries a lotus flower aloft and pulls the reins of an onager.[280] All the individuals wear the Elamite-type helmet. The animals represented on register Vb can generally be identified as three male ibexes (*Capra ibex*)

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[278] The pointed-visor type helmet appears represented in the Middle Elamite stela of Untash-Napirisha. In the Neo-Elamite period we see it represented on the rock reliefs of Malamir (Izeh), from the time of Shutruk-Nahhunte (eighth century BC); And in the stele of Adda-Hamitti-In-Shushinak (ca 650 BC) (Amiet 1966: 552).

[279] For the Sukkalmah period see Amiet 1966: 309; for the Middle Elamite period see Amiet 1966: 397; and for the Neo-Elamite period see Amiet 1966: 31 and figure 308,. More recently, see Amiet 1992: 257-265, in particular, fig. 24. Here, the rounded-knob atop the "helmet" appears to be more like a chignon. Outside the Elamite realm I have not found another example of this kind of helmet except in a fragment of a fresco from Mycenae illustrating an individual wearing a rounded knobbed helmet that is distinctly more conical and elongated than our Elamite helmet (Borchhardt 1972: tafel 37). Finally, Pierre Amiet, notes the presence of similar helmets in the Mittanian and Cypriot cultures around the middle of the second millennium BC but dismisses this correspondence as "fortuitous" (Amiet 1992: 260).

[280] The Mesopotamian *Equus onager*, the wild ass native to the region, had characteristics of both the horse and ass: short ears, erect mane, a stalk-like tufted tail, and a yellow-brown coat with white sides, underparts and back of the body. The modern Persian wild onager has a mane, which is visible on the neck and a dark brown spinal band stretching up to the tail. The ass has a smaller build, long ears, thick neck, cow-like tail ending in a tuft of longer hair, slender legs, and dainty feet and hooves. The modern Persian wild onager weighs approximately 250 kg, stands 1.5 meters high at the shoulder and is 2 meters in length. A similar animal appears represented in the Neo-Assyrian reliefs of Assurbanipal's time depicting Elamite chariots (Russell 1999: 188, fig. 70). For more on Onager in the ancient Near East see Strommenger and Bollweg (1996).

[281] (note that the horn rings—each representing one year—have been intentionally sketched in order to stress the maturity of the animal).[282] Following the ibexes is a goat (identified by the tail and the double chin-beard), a lioness with a collar around her neck,[283] a fox, wolf or jackal (possibly an ichneumon?) [284]—perhaps also wearing a collar—, and a pig or boar (an uncastrated male hog or wild pig-jabalina). Additional animals depicted here are the two horses pulling the chariot of the king. The head of the animals carried by the soldiers appear to be held either by the beard or by a collar.

Interpretation of Register V

It has already been pointed out that some features of the iconography portrayed on Register V show a direct correspondence with Assyrian reliefs (Majidzadeh 1990). However, although the iconographic allusions deriving from Assyrian origin are easily verifiable, the content and significance of the narrative upon which the images are based remains to be determined. Let us begin by considering the location in which the events here portrayed take place. Register V comprises a set of two distinct but related narratives: the ceremony of drinking from a cup and the return from the hunt. These are separated by two similar sets of mountains or hills suggesting that the events portrayed took place on or nearby hilly ground. This location, in conjunction with the actual placement of Register V at the outer edge of the bowl, calls to mind the various literary[285] and artistic[286] traditions of the ancient Near East indicating the presence of a "twin mountain" at the "edge of the world". It is in this "final frontier" that a Babylonian "map of the world," dated to about the ninth century BC., places ibexes, mountain goats, lions, and wolves, among other wild animals, in association with monsters (Horowitz 1988: 149), implying that "The farther away from home, the more the familiar and domesticated is replaced by the wild, strange, primeval and diabolical" (Green 1994: 238). Hence, the convergence at the edge of the bowl of the twin mountains and the hunting and drinking-from-the-bowl ceremonies appears to suggest that reaching the far away mountains aiming to kill or to capture wild beasts may have been considered an exercise of heroic proportions. In order to come closer to understand the nature of such events one has to look at the evidence presented by contemporary hunting practices.

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[281] In Mesopotamia and Iran, the ibex have thick horns, which sweep back in a saber-like curve, and are flattened underneath; the upper surface is ornamented by a number of protuberances inclined backward and extending across the whole width of the upper surface, like ribs (Harrington 1977).

[282] In contemporary South Arabian hunting, the hunted ibex is labeled according to the number of rings on its horns (e.g. a fifty ringer!). Also, like the fisherman with the biggest fish, the hunters with the oldest ibex, receive a statutory place in ceremonial processions (Sergeant 1976: 30).

[283] Probably, the lion hunt was reserved for higher officials and the military elite because of the necessary equipment such an event required: horses in protective caparacones, the help of foot hunters, etc. This kind of hunt was a privilege reserved for the most powerful.

[284] The fox differs from a jackal in that they have bigger ears, a more pointed muzzle, and a long, bushy tail that sweeps to the ground. An ichneumon has extremely short forelegs and an very broad tail that gradually tapers to a point, and rounded ears low on the skull. It is almost entirely concealed by its fur.

Coming from what has hitherto been a marginal area of study in the ancient Near Eastern world, texts found in the territories of the ancient kingdoms of Hadramawt, Haram, and Saba in southern Arabia[287] attest in great detail to the performance of seasonal, highly ritualized hunting practices since at least the sixth century BC.[288] According to these accounts, failure to perform hunting rituals at the proper season and according to strict guidelines was believed to incur divine wrath and retribution. One inscription relates the absence of rain to the absence of hunted game for the god Halfan: "... therefore he did not protect them but made their watercourses to flow in spring and autumn with very little water" (Beeston 1972: 192). The success of the hunting ritual was contingent on respecting certain taboos such as abstention from sex, food, and from spilling the blood of immature animals. These were known as the "days of supplication." The hunt took place on traditional hunting grounds associated with a divinity. Consequently, the animals hunted within this territory were considered "the game of the god." As a result, if the hunt was conducted properly, i.e. the taboos were not violated, the deities rewarded the ruler and his community with protection and bountiful crops (Ryckmans 1993). During the twenty days of hunting that took place in Wadi 'Irma, the king and a legion of 200 soldiers, 100 hunters and 200 dogs captured four panthers, two leopards, and 600 ibexes. Document CHI 350 reveals interesting parallels between hunting expeditions for lions and panthers and military maneuvers.[289]

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[285] In the Gilgamesh Epic (Tablet IX, lines 37–38) the "twin" mountain, *mashu*, is situated at the edge of the world. Also, royal inscriptions of the third millennium refer to the mountain land as the location of enemies, and a myth of the same period singles out two mountains as the enemies of the gods (Green 1994: 235); Ugaritic texts speak as well of the Mountains Targhizizi and Thurmagi as the "highs that limit the earth" (Caquot 1974: 219).

[286] The "twin mountain" appears variously represented in cylinder seals at least since the Akkadian period (Kantor 1966: 145-155, in particular figures 2, 3, 7, and 8).

[287] Although the influence of Arabian cultures in Mesopotamia and across the Persian/Arabic Gulf remains to be fully assessed, the degree of relationships between these three regions during the first millennium BC is well attested, if only through the political coalitions between Babylonia, Elam, and certain western Arabian tribes against Assyria. Furthermore, southern Arabia was the source of the most important aromatic commodities in antiquity. Frankincense and myrrh were used in religious rituals, as fumigants, in medicinal

On the Neo-Assyrian side, large-scale hunting for the capture of live animals appears well attested in both stone reliefs and texts. Adad-Ninnari II mentions the

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preparations, in the manufacture of perfumes, and most importantly, for embalming. The trade of these two gums was the richest in the ancient world (MacDonald 1995).

[288] Given the uncertainty of the South Arabian chronological sequence and epigraphic material, this date should be taken as no more than approximate. The evidence points to the existence of South Arabian kingdoms since at least the tenth century BC, and to autochthonous writing since at least the eighth century BC. The Assyrian kings Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II, and Sennacherib maintained tributary relationships with the South Arabian tribes (See De Maigret and Robin 1989; Robin 1996; Ryckmans 1976: 259; and Beeston 1972).

[289] Ryckmans even connects the hunting of wild animals with the obtaining of enemies' spoils (Ryckmans 1993: 375).

killing of eight wild bulls and eight ostriches, along with the capture of eight live ostriches. Shalmaneser III, however, preferred larger trophies: "I made to fall 29 elephants" (Lion 1992: 202). An emphasis was placed on the territory where the hunt was performed: "I captured with my hand 15 powerful lions from the mountains and forests," says Assurnasirpal II "I took 50 wild bulls alive, I made to fall 30 elephants, 140 ostriches (captured) alive, and 20 powerful lions from the mountains and the forests." Analogous to the South Arabian texts, the hunt is performed at specific times appointed by the gods: "In the high mountains they [Ninurta and Pali] gave me [Ashur-bel-kala] the order to hunt . . . at the moment when [the constellation] Syrius rises, which looks like smelted copper, in the mounts Ebeh, Urashe. . ." (Lion 1992: 363). To the Assyrian kings and aristocracy, hunting was the royal "sport" par excellence. Its purpose fulfilled two functions; to collect exotic and wild animals for use as presents or tributary goods, or simply to expand the king's personal menagerie (such as those of Assurnasirpal II and Sennacherib); and to stress the ideological role of the king as the Chosen One whom, under the guidance and protection of the gods, reached "the mountains and the forests" in order to confront and victoriously tame the wild forces of nature (i.e. the enemies).

In addition, Assyrian reliefs portray two kinds of ceremonial events performed after a hunt or a battle in which the holding of a cup by a monarch takes center stage.[290] In one, as in the famous scene of Assurbanipal and queen Ashur-sharrat where the king is preparing to drink from a cup in celebration of the new "Pax Assyriaca." In a second category, Assurbanipal does not actually drink himself but, after having successfully confronted a number of fierce lions, pours a libation from the cup over the dead carcasses (see plate 33: 79). The inscription over this scene reveals a suggestive explanation of his acts: "I, Assurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, whom Assur and Mullisu have granted exalted strength. The lions that I killed: I held the fierce bow of Ishtar, lady of battle, over them, I set up an offering over them, (and) I made a libation over them"(Russell 1999: 202).

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[290] At least since the beginning of the third millennium BC, drinking from a cup had a ceremonial value intended to mark an important even. See Strommenger 1962: 63, plate 45 and Stronach 1995.

In short, the ritual hunt and the ceremony of drinking from a cup portrayed in register V share mythological and sacred characteristics with the South Arabian and Assyrian hunting traditions. The direct involvement of the gods as protectors of the king while conquering the enemy —taking the form of wild animals or humans[291]—is an underlying aspect of those rituals involving some type of sacrificial offering—taking the form of wine pouring or wine drinking.[292] However, and in contrast to the realistic accounts of southern Arabian texts or the hunting scenes of the Assyrian reliefs, we are struck by the fictional elements illustrated in the Arjan narrative: in particular, the individual soldiers supporting the weight of mature animals[293] which appear to wear collars around their necks and, in some cases, seem to have their tails raised. These elements might have remained unexplained were it not for the former Neo-Assyrian texts attesting to the practice of capturing live wild animals. Yet the fact that the narrative in Register V stresses the fictional nature of the Herculean soldiers underlines both the heroic content of the task accomplished and further serves to compliment the central role held by the king as tamer of the wild and benefactor of the gods. The ceremonial dress of the individuals and the lotus flower held by the figure behind the chariot also underline the ritualistic and sacred dimension of the events depicted.[294]

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[291] "I, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, I presented the head of Teumman, king of Elam, like an offering in front of the gate inside the city. As it had been said of old by the oracle, 'You will cut off the heads of your enemies, you will pour wine over them, [...]!', accordingly the gods Shamash and Adad granted this in my time: [...] I cut off the heads of my [enemies], I poured wine [over them...]. Text 14A, The Celebration in Nineveh Following the Defeat of Teumman (Russell 1999: 161).

[292] The triangular association between a deity, the king, and wine, goes beyond the well known Eucharistic symbolic relationship between the color of wine and blood and extends to the intoxicating properties of wine which "enables man to partake, for a fleeting moment, of the mode of being attributed to the gods" (Cirlot 1971: 374).

[293] Realistic depictions in the Assyrian reliefs of this theme include three to six individuals per animal (Parrot 1961: 69, plate 75 and p. 68, plate 74).

REGISTER IV

Register IV features some of the most intricate scenes on the Arjan Bowl. Majidzadeh's interpretation divides the representation into a battle and four scenes from daily life: (1) fishing in the marsh, (2) dancing, (3) date harvesting, and (4) a man standing between two palm trees (Majidzadeh 1990: 133). In my opinion, however, this register comprises two main narratives: The Mock-Battle (IVa) and Date Harvesting and Fishing in the Marsh (IVb). In regards to the location where these events take place, note that both scenes unfold on the periphery of a fortified city.[295]

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[294] Perhaps because the lotus flower floats on the surface of the water and, like the sunflower, follows the sun on its diurnal journey, Egyptian theology saw the flower as the genesis for the Original ground; floating over the primordial, directionless waters in the infinite expanse of darkness from which the sun (Atum) rises. In this context, the lotus was considered to be a sacred flower and thus symbolized the ideas of reincarnation and perpetual rebirth (Lipinski 1995: 425). In an Assyrian context, while there is no written evidence stating that the lotus flower itself was considered a sacred symbol of immortality and renewal, the fact that this motif is repeatedly depicted in monumental reliefs, in particular in the hand of either a king or noble attending an important ceremonial event, indicates its powerful symbolic value.

[295] Compare the similarities between this walled town with distinctive Neo-Elamite city representations in Elamite art (Amiet 1966, figures 411 and 412); and in the Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs of Nineveh during the time of Assurbanipal i.e., Madaktu, Room XXXIII, slab 6 and Susa, Room I, Slab 9 (Russell 1999: figs. 63, 69, and 70).

Narrative IVa: The Mock-Battle

The Mock-Battle scene occupies about half of Register IV and merges into the Date Harvesting scene. On the right side of a fortified city there is a raft[296] being dragged by four individuals. Adjacent to the raft an Elamite chariot with six spokes (Majidzadeh 1990: 138) contains three passengers, two of whom wear the rounded-knobbed Elamite helmet. Behind the chariot a running individual carries a mace –a standard Assyrian symbol of authority (Reade 1972: 102). Two horsemen follow him. Next to the fortified city a king wearing a long dress sits on a chair. The king faces two soldiers and their captives. Except for the king, all the men wear the short kilt characteristic of the Assyrian army.

Interpretation

According to Majidzadeh's interpretation the scene depicts a fortified city under attack from the right by infantry, cavalry, charioteers, and naval forces. Certainly, a fortified city under attack was a frequent theme in Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs since the time of Assurnasirpal II which continued with only minor variations throughout the Neo-Assyrian period (Gunter 1982: 107). Clearly, the degree of destruction and violence represented in these Assyrian scenes classifies them as war scenes. However, and in contrast to the Assyrian representations, in *Narrative IVa* there is no suggestion of the destruction of the city or of its surrounding fields. This militaristic display, I propose, requires consideration under a different lens.

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[296] The "ship" here portrayed appears to be a single-ended raft with a flat hull. A standing triangularly shaped structure, which includes two protruding cones resembling a pair of cattle horns, appears in the middle of the deck. In contrast to lower sea craft, this type of straight hull raft was characteristic of marshy areas (Potts 1995).

Between the Fishing-in-the-Marsh and the Date Harvesting scenes, a pair of men hold hands and grasp their foot at the same time. This unusual display of equilibrium is better known as the foot-clutch dance and it represents a contest or game of balance in which one male tries to knock the other down (see plate 44). The game is still played today among the marsh dwellers of southern Iraq and is called "hopping on one leg." In ancient Mesopotamia and Elam, religious dance is attested variously in cylinder seal representations of the Old Babylonian period (Kilmer 1985: 2611), the Middle Elamite[297] and Neo-Elamite periods.[298]

As in the "dance with arched legs" executed by dwarves, religious dance was performed within the framework of religious practices and beliefs.[299] In various examples, the dancers performed within the celebrations of the fertility rites of Ishtar, the goddess of fertility and war (see the sealings in plate xxxxviii and notice the presence of the date palm). These dances intermingled with mock battles and the throwing of boomerangs—an ancient mode of hunting birds also practiced in the river marshes (Matousova-Rajmova 1978: 162).

Once more, compelling written evidence for the ensuing interpretation of this register comes from ancient Arabia. After the hunt, in order for the hunting party to return to the profane life, i.e., to enter the city, a rite of desacralization entailing ceremonial dance needed to be achieved at the city gates. In many cases, an altar-stele was erected at the gates to celebrate the "Attar-hunt and a festival-[hunt]"(Beeston 1972: 195). In another related example, toward the end of the Hittite empire, ca. 1200 BC., to mark the festivities of spring and fall the statue of the king was transported outside the sacred enclosure. Ritualistic sacrifices were followed by a meal taken in common, after which sporting competitions and combat simulations ensued (Macqueen 1975: 109). If anything, these two chronologically distant and geographically divergent locations of the ancient Near East indicate that ritual dances, sport competitions and combat simulations were integral parts of ritualistic religious celebrations, and help to explain the otherwise odd combination of militaristic displays and fertility rites present in the Arjan bowl.

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[297] Sealing from Susa representing two individuals next to a palm tree holding hands. (Amiet 1972 vol I, seal 2013, Sb 1510, plate 175).

[298] Seal 74 (Sor 1282, plate 236) from Surkh Dum-i-Luri found in Room 3, elevation 7.25 (floor hoard assigned to level 2B). 4.8 cm long, 1.5 cm diameter made in faience, represents "two men, each holding or slapping raised foot with one hand; one man raising other hand, other extending it; bird and lentoid in sky; terminal: two monkeys, one on tree; cross above boar, line borders" (Schmidt et al. 1989: 460, level 3,2 B).

[299] To the Minoan and Greek minds, the origin of dance was connected with the practice of athletics by Cretan youth or by Curetes who performed armed maneuvers accompanied by dancing (Ridington 1935: 80). In Egypt, the pharaoh performed cultic races since early dynastic times (Touny 1969: 77).

Narrative IVb: Date Harvesting and Fishing in the Marsh

These two scenes are filled with keenly detailed images depicting peacetime activities evolving next to a marsh filled with meticulously drawn avifauna. Among the numerous varieties of fowl flying over the marshes and feasting abundantly on fish, one can distinguish a goose, a flamingo or stork, a heron, and perhaps some odd *urogallus*-like bird displaying the characteristic engorged esophagus or 'air bag'. Except for the *urogallus* these birds all qualify as common winter visitors of the shallow marshes of Khuzistan (Hole 1969: 18). Nearby, a man concentrates on his extended net, while a smaller individual grasps a net folded over a catch. Behind him lies a dog-like animal. On the left side of the fishing scene, two animals emerge from either side of the reeds; one wears a collar and looks very similar to the small animal found inside the chariot in Narrative Va.

On the right side of the marshes there is a date harvesting scene (which overlaps with the mock-battle scene).[300] Date palms (*Phoenix dactilifera*) provided shelter, food, clothing, timber, fuel, building materials, sticks, sugar, oil, wax, wine, etc. Not surprisingly, in Mesopotamia, the date palm was a sacred tree associated with fertility (Danthine 1937: 104). *Narrative IV b*, portrays the seasonal date harvest. Men climb the palms, and the women and children collect the dates from the ground.

On the right side of the date-harvesting scene there is a "secondary" narrative involving two dog- or monkey-like animals at the base of two palm-trees trying to chase away a figure with raised arms standing between the top of two palm trees.[301]

Interpretation

The two scenes portrayed on register IV, harvesting from nature and the celebratory mock-battle, are the logical continuation of the previous two narratives portrayed in Register V. After returning from a hunt and before entering the city, a king performed a series of rituals of desacralization. These rituals were enacted out at the periphery of the city, an ambiguous threshold between the city itself and the country-side, between chaos and stability, anarchical nature and civilization. This register celebrates in an idealized manner the bounty and richness of the natural world which, as a consequence of having performed the correct rituals and respected the taboos, gives itself freely to humans in the form of harvest.

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[300] The scene represented on figure 5A indicates that the association of a date palm and the foot-clutch dance goes at least back to the Old Babylonian period. This single evidence may attest to the existence of a long lasting tradition associating celebratory cultic dances to the fertility of date palms.

[301] Perhaps they are monkeys since they were kept as pets, trained to pick up dates, and appear connected with musical performances (Durham 1985: 245).

REGISTERS III and II

Whereas the events in Register V take place in the mountains and the events in Register IV take place at the edge of the city, the actions represented in Registers III and II develop inside the city, which represents the space of the familiar par excellence. The city is controllable, manageable, civilized, and enclosed. In the refuge of this interior setting, two secular, socioeconomic, activities performed by and in the palace can be observed: the tribute procession (Register III) and the feast of music (Register II). Economically, the palace was a "closed-circuit organization in which goods and services were channeled into a circulation system and where the entire personnel were included in a hierarchic order" (Oppenheim 1964: 95).

The Tribute Procession

The king sits on a throne with a large pine cone topping either side of the back holder[302] and wears the peculiar round-knob Elamite helmet and a long Assyrian-like ceremonial robe. His right hand rests on his lap while his left hand may be holding a drooping flower. Behind him is an individual whose iconography and rank is characteristic of a crowned prince. He wears a long ceremonial robe, the circular-knob helmet, and holds a long scepter. Behind the prince there are three armed individuals occupying the rank usually given to the chief-ministers of the army or to local elite tribal chiefs. They wear short kilts and hold smaller staffs. In front of the king there is a royal attendant in Assyrian dress. Next to him, an individual wearing a short kilt bends his body forward as he holds his hand in front of his mouth. Next follows a beardless, eunuch-like royal guard, holding a short staff and raising his arm in a gesture towards the tribute bearers.[303] The tribute the king receives is typified by the various species of animals present: four long-tail horses, three lions, a young deer or gazelle, a tiger or leopard, small birds inside a cage, a tiger or panther, four well-behaved ostriches, two big birds of prey, a bear, and two large containers of unknown content.

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[302] Commonly, the pine-cone (or male flower of the date palm) appears on the lower extremities of the legs of the throne chair and not on the tops of the back-holder. See the throne occupied by Sennacherib while he observes the capture of Lachish (Curtis 1996: 123). For this observation concerning the Arjan throne and other details in the throne tribute processions shown in fig. 6, see also Stronach 2002: 379-80.

Interpretation

In Assyrian and Persian reliefs, a king's range of territorial influence was signaled by the number of populations willing to recognize his authority; non-payment of tribute at the expected time may have been a signal for dissent and revolt. Such a proclamation was stated implicitly by the variety of "gifts" depicted in a presentation. These "gifts" were not merely material offerings in the modern sense but also carriers of symbolic gestures of relationship, signifiers of allegiance, prestige, status, and territorial extension.[304] The gifts, here manifested as animals, conveyed not necessarily friendship or generosity but a calculated relationship founded on the ideas of hospitality and reciprocity. By giving, and with the gift being accepted, the giver created an obligation in which neither he nor the receiver was free, but bound to comply with customary rules.[305] The terms of the agreement took the form of an alliance in which the tributary party would offer material goods and personal services in exchange for ideological legitimacy, prestige and protection.

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[303] A similar figure in the "Treasury Reliefs" from Persepolis is identified by both M. Root and D. Kaptan as the Grand Marshall of the court ceremonies "in the act of announcing the readiness of the groups of tribute bearers facing the king and ready to come forward" (Root 1979: 238 and Kaptan 1996: 259).

[304] Here I am adopting the distinction made by M.C. Root between tribute as *encomium* "–an expression of gratitude and continued allegiance to a great power," versus tribute as tax paid by a subject nation (See chapter VI of Root 1979: 227).

[305] The literature on the sociology and economic importance of the gift for "pre-market" economies is extensive. M. Mauss' *the Gift* is a suitable introduction. For ancient

> "From the princes of the four regions (of the world), who had submitted to the yoke of my rule, whose lives I had spared, together with the governors of my land, the scribes and superintendents, the nobles, officials, and elders (?), I received their rich gifts as tribute....Gold, silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones, bronze, iron, vessels of bronze, all (kinds) of shrubs (evergreens), choice oil, brightly colored (woolen) garments and robes of linen, violet and purple (cloth), elephant hides, ivory, antimony, maple (?) and boxwood, large Egyptian horses, broken to the yoke, mules, asses, camels, cattle, ... as their rich gifts, I received... I caused them to sit down at a banquet and instituted a feast of music.[306]

The Feast of Music

The narrative in register II contrasts dramatically with the hieratic and formal organization of the tribute scene. Register II opens a window into a lively, informal party characterized by the almost total absence of a central focus. Instead, our attention drifts from the preparation of food and performances by musicians, dancers, and acrobats to a loosely arranged central even. Amid the display of a coordinated feast for the senses and panoply of sounds and smells, a cup bearer, the most trusted, loyal servant of the ruler, approaches the seated king from behind while pouring a liquid

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Mesopotamia see Oppenheim 1964: 97-104. For the Achaemenid period see Briant 1982: 88-94.

[306] Luckenbill 1927: 38-39 and 1927: 50-51.

into a bowl. Two individuals are sitting on the ground in front of the king —notice that one of them may be wearing the Elamite round-knobbed helmet as well.

Interpretation

Sharing the bounty of the king's table, i.e. drinking from the same bowl, had implications beyond participating in a ritual of fraternity, enjoying the best entertainment and eating the finest foods. Classic sources reveal that, for the most part, and outside the rare public banquets, Persian kings ate alone. Neo-Elamite evidence may point out to a similar practice.[307] After dining, the kings selected only a small number of invitees with whom to exchange toasts. Only then would the king drink wine from his special personal cup (Briant 1989: 59). The royal meal and the idea of tribute were part of the same code of social and political-economic relationships. Those leaders showing their allegiance to the king (Narrative III) were in charge of providing the king's table with the best goods of the kingdom. In exchange, they were invited to sit at the table of the king and to share in the royal redistribution (Narrative II). Equally, all those losing favor with the king would be excluded from the royal circle and barred from receiving any of the accumulated goods from the king's table.[308]

What had the king to offer in exchange for this allegiance and tribute? The king provided material goods to his "subjects" according to conventional obligations determined by geographical location and rank,[309] but also social and political status in the form of prestigious goods symbolizing merit and personal connections. Prestigious goods such as metallic drinking bowls were "absolutely indispensable for the maintenance of social relations" (Claessen 1996: 31). The rulers that succeed in maintaining a monopoly on such goods could use them to proclaim common destiny and to reaffirm the allegiance of the highborn. Furthermore, by maintaining their original form and substance prestigious goods were able to "preserve symbolic meanings that were recognized long after they were donated" (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1976: 132).

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[307] The Elamite rock reliefs from the Kul-e Farah (Izeh) open-air sanctuary, ranging from the ninth century until the sixth century BC, contain evidence of liturgical ceremonies that included the sacrifice of animals and ritual banquets performed in the midst of music. In particular, relief IV presents a singular ritual banquet characterized by the king eating alone in the midst of music and dignitaries (De Waele 1989: 29-33).

[308] Ctesias mentions that all individuals who lost favor at the Achaemenid court were forced to use earthenware vessels instead of metallic bowls (Ctesias, *Athenee* XI. 464a in Brian 1989: 42).

The narrative in register III features a tribute procession recalling the ones portrayed in Assyrian and Achaemenid monumental reliefs. Yet, some details disclose a tantalizing window into the Neo-Elamite world just before it was to become part of the emerging Achaemenid Empire. It has been suggested that the tribute procession, a theme derived from Mesopotamia and Egypt originally meant to describe the military subjugation of the tributaries,[310] was to be transformed by the Achaemenids into "a scene of pious reverence" invested with an "aura of religiosity" (Root 1979:277). Thus, it would appear as if the Achaemenids formulated their own tribute scenes out of a rejection for Assyrian realism and, consequently, came to represent a ceremony that may never have taken place.[311] Whether or not one shares the previous views, the steps by which the Achaemenids reached their own version of the tribute theme remain to be thoroughly explained.[312]

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[309] See Briant 1982: 88-94.

[310] Margaret Root 1979: 284.

[311] Ibid. 1979: 231.

[312] For an exploration into the ways the Assyrian court practices may have influenced the Persian Tribute scene see David Stronach 2002.

The lack of evidence indicating the existence of Elamite tribute scenes of the Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid kind should not preclude us from asserting distinctive characteristics of the tribute procession represented in the Arjan bowl. Despite the proposition that "it was probably only in the time of Darius that the king had chosen to represent the crown prince with himself" (Kaptan 1996: 261), the presence of the "prince elected" standing behind or beside the throne in the Arjan bowl suggest that this practice was already in vogue during the Neo-Elamite period (see plate 43). Furthermore, the individual in front of the king making a reverent gesture,[313] combined with a procession of tribute bearers bringing different animals (such as is characteristic of a Persian tribute scene than an Assyrian one) speaks for a Neo-Elamite participation in the formation of the classic Persian tribute scene.

REGISTER I: Running Lions and Bulls

Register I drives further beyond the spatial boundaries of the city and takes us into the vertical realm of the cosmological. This register is filled with six alternating pairs of running lions and bulls. The lion-bull association goes back to the first Mesopotamian dynasties; The strength and temperament of the two beasts made them favorite symbols of power and protection throughout the ancient Near East.

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[313] Precedents for such a gesture, which combine the bending of the torso and the knee, and the raising of the palm towards the lips are absent from the Elamite world. However, the raising of one or two hands towards the mouth as a sign of reverence towards gods and perhaps kings was common in ancient Mesopotamia. See Richard N. Frye 1972: 106.

Interpretation

For practical and religious reasons having to do with the seasonal cycles as established by the divinities —the *usurat šame u ersti*, "plans of heavens and earth" or "cosmic destinies"— deciphering the language of the sky was a major priority for the agricultural and grazing cultures of the ancient Near East.[314]

A theory developed by W. Hartner perceives the lion-bull combat as a celestial representation of a cosmic struggle between the constellations Taurus and Leo, marking the beginning of the Assyrian lunar-solar calendar[315] as well as that of the Zoroastrian year, or the Nowruz.[316] According to Hartner, the relative position of the two constellations in the horizon by about 500 BC. marked the vernal equinox (when the length of the day and night are about equal, March 21) or Spring, which set in motion the beginning of barley, and date harvesting, and sheep shearing:

The triumphant Lion, standing at [the] zenith and displaying thereby its maximum power, kills and destroys the Bull trying to escape below the horizon, which during the subsequent days disappears in the Sun's rays to remain invisible for a period of forty days, after which it is reborn, rising again for the first time (...) to announce Spring equinox and the advent of the light part of the year (...) (Hartner 1965: 16).

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[314] A modest comment on cosmological interpretation in ancient Near Eastern culture is in order here. As far as we can tell, the study of heavenly phenomena was systematic and recorded variously in the form of omens; as descriptive and mathematical astronomy; and, as horoscopes since the Sumerian period (Rochberg 1998). Earlier cosmological, computational schemes focused on lunar visibility throughout the month, length of daylight throughout the year, and planetary observations. By 1000 BC, the Babylonians were able to recognize 18 zodiacal constellations (through whose paths the moon and the planets appeared to move). Around 650 BC., these constellations were systematized and distributed among 12 months. Two hundred years later, the number of zodiacal constellations had been reduced to 12 (each covering 30 degrees of the sky and beginning with Aries from mid-March to mid-April) (Rochberg 1990).

[315] The Assyrian calendar started in the autumn until the 1st millennium, when the Babylonian calendar was adopted (Rochberg, 1990: 1931).

[316] Hartner 1965: 1-18. A similar cosmic interpretation of the lion and bull motif has been applied to corroborate the assumption that the tribute reliefs at Persepolis illustrate a specific *No Ruz* festival. For the full scope of the argument, see Root 1979: n. 14 and n. 28.

Although there is no reason in the context of the Arjan Bowl not to interpret the motif of a lion pursuing a bull around a rosette as an announcement of the equinox—a most important event in the life of any pre-industrial agrarian community[317]—caution must be raised regarding the general application of this interpretation (Stronach 2002: 387). "Bulls and lions...are found among the fabulous beasts in heraldic groups in the so-called proto-Elamite glyptic art of north-Western Iran" (Green 1994: 249). Those associations, Pierre Amiet asserts, may simply stand for "elementary powers charged with the stability of the world".[318]

CENTER: The Rosette

The rosette is a prevalent ancient Near Eastern decorative motif long associated with the goddess Inanna and the planet Venus. One of its early manifestations appears in the Uruk period, where a rosette oversees the entrance to an animal barn adorned with the ring-posts of Inanna. Also, many of the rosettes known from the Middle Assyrian period were found in the Ishtar (Inanna) temple at Ashur. During the Neo-Assyrian period, rosettes were a common object of decoration on wrist straps, royal robes, and horse ligatures.[319] They were equally popular on earlier and contemporary Iranian metal and terracotta vessels (Muscarella 1977: 36).

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[317] "The portrayal of a seasonal rite...a sacrifice of the first fruits of spring" has been equally recognized on other metallic carved bowls of the first millennium BC (Markoe 1985: 58).

[318] Amiet 1980: 132-33 in Green 1994: 249.

[319] Yet, the evidence remains unclear regarding the application of the rosette-Ishtar association throughout all the scope of ancient Near Eastern history (Black and A. Green 1992: 156).

Interpretation

On the Arjan Bowl, the rosette is not just an expedient, traditional decoration gracing the center of a bowl. Rather, the motif, while not necessarily representing the goddess Ištar, complements perfectly the evolving thematic sequence of the five previous registers (see below).

II.12.2. The Significance of the Arjan Bowl

The description and interpretation of the images engraved in the Arjan bowl have unveiled the presence of distinctive series of narratives documenting the activities of a high-status individual best identified as a king. These activities occur in three, well-differentiated territories: in mountainous terrain, in the periphery of the city, and in the inner city, all of which suggests a clear awareness of the topography of the land and its qualitative properties. Beginning at the edge of the bowl with the unfamiliar terrain of a mountainous region (*Register V*), the artist takes us to the periphery of the city (*Register IV*); follows the royal dependencies of the inner city (*Register III and II*); and the lions and bulls in perpetual cyclical movement perhaps marking the beginning of spring (*Register I*); to finally reach the center of the bowl, the realm of the gods, which transcends direct human experience; the origin of all that is stable, primal, and immortal. The ideological landscape of the Arjan bowl as represented in these five registers appears to have been understood as a set of concrete orientations directly related to a literal sense of perception, that is to say, to a set of qualitative orientations ordered concentrically within experiential reality.[320] Given a lack of known empirical geography, space was understood and defined as friendly, familiar, manageable and enclosed, or as hostile, alien, unmanageable and open. This knowledge of space does not just inquire about the nature of reality but provides a map of reality in the context of which one can navigate and, with the help of rituals, transform the mundane into a meaningful set of actions directed by the figure of the king. In short, the bowl subscribes to an ideology of kingship where the monarch, sitting on his throne or riding inside a chariot, acts as mediator between the deities and humans, asserting by the absence of chaos, foreign enemies, wild beasts, sickness and infertility, the blessing and the protection of the gods over the land he rules.[321] This understanding of space is not just ideological inasmuch as the bowl illustrates a propagandistic exaltation of the rule and role of the king, but cosmological, since it provides a *complete* view of the world (*Imago Mundi*). Respectively, the Arjan bowl subscribes to a long-held ancient Near Eastern tradition, which upholds the primary religious character of a work of art.[322] At the same time, the visual program of the Arjan bowl is multi-dimensional since it addresses and negotiates the interests and interactions of two separate parties: the maker of the bowl and the person who commissioned it.

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[320] See Wiggerman 1996.

Indeed, the intentions of the patron and the artist in this case can only be examined against the background of the large body of exceptional Phoenician metallic bowls. These bowls have been attributed to the particular skill of individuals tracing their artistic lineage to the Mediterranean Levant during the eighth through the seventh centuries BC. The Phoenician artist has been characterized as a master in "pulling elements out of their traditional (Egyptian, Assyrian, North Syrian, Aegean) setting and reinserting them in a new environment" (Markoe 1985: 34). This eclectic approach to the image is thought to have originated out of the Phoenician multicultural nexus, "whose status as middlemen and commercial intermediaries would readily account for such a pronounced intermixing of elements".[323] As the Neo-Assyrian empire expanded towards the Mediterranean between the ninth and eighth centuries BC., the new political order made it possible for these artisans to advertise their luxury items throughout the empire and its periphery, catering to the wealthiest of clients whom, at least in two instances, involved princes or kings.[324] These individuals belonged to a distinct cultural tradition, described as a "warrior aristocracy," characterized by burials housed in built chambers (Markoe 1985: 79). The Phoenician system of replicating and customizing the same scene or sequence of scenes suggests that individual artists may have had available a manual or sketchbook including entire series of model episodes or scenes from wide range iconographic sources.[325]

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[321] For an earlier articulation of this ideology (Uruk period) see Schmandt-Besserat 1993: 202-219. Here, the EN is described as "the charismatic administrator of the temple wealth, the dispenser of justice, the successful warrior collecting booty and tribute; the caretaker of the people; and most importantly, as the beloved consort of Inanna, unleashing the forces of life." (Schmandt-Besserat 1993: 219).

[322] See Porada 1986.

Y. Majidzadeh has demonstrated striking stylistic and thematic analogies between the Phoenician corpus of bowls and the Arjan bowl. Yet, despite direct references to both Assyrian[326] and Phoenician iconographic and stylistic models, the Arjan bowl reflects in its own idiosyncratic way a new phase of Phoenician artistic syncretism.[327] Certainly, the traditional method of attributing one or another origin is by looking for the source of a particular style or narrative. Yet, one cannot ignore why an object was made, its intended use, and the context in which it existed.

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[323] So Markoe 1985: 7.

[324] Bowls Cy 8 and Cy 14 (Ibid. 1985: 84).

[325] Ibid. 1985: 71.

[326] See Reade 1979a and Reade 1979b.

[327] I am grateful to Marian Feldman for lending her "Levantine" insights into this analysis of the bowl. In attempting to deal with the exceptional qualities of the Arjan bowl Y. Majidzadeh proposed the existence of a new sub-period between the end of Markoe's period III (725-675 BC) and beginning of period IV (675-625 BC) (Majidzadeh 1990: 141).

As has been pointed out, the unusual dimensions of the Arjan bowl suggest that, contrary to its Phoenician relatives, this object was not meant to have been used as an individual drinking vessel. Curiously, this observation is further underlined by the two occasions in which a drinking vessel appears represented in the Arjan bowl. In both cases—in register V the king sits on the throne and holds a cup; and, in register II, the cup-bearer behind the king pours a liquid inside a bowl held with one hand—it is apparent that these images were not meant to be self-referential representations of the Arjan bowl. Thus, we are left with the question of the real, intended, usage of the bowl and, indirectly, the vexing question of the identity of the bowl's commissioner. Accordingly, I would like to suggest that the exceptional size of the Arjan bowl is directly related to the constraint to represent a complete cycle of narratives—which could not otherwise have been included on a smaller bowl—and to the religious-funerary context of the bowl itself. Like most Phoenician style bowls, the Arjan bowl "ended life" as a funerary offering.[328] In this respect one particular series of metallic bowls was marked by inscriptions identifying them as offerings to the gods "for the life of the soul" of such or such individual.[329] Thus we are lead to think that the images portrayed on these bowls were addressed not to a living audience but to the ancestors and to the gods themselves. Ultimately, like a biographical account, the deeds represented in the Arjan bowl articulated to a mortal audience the epical accomplishments of a royal life as ordered by the gods. Accordingly, the main purpose of the images represented on the Arjan Bowl could have been to serve as a visual mnemonic device for the "soul" of the king so as to insure his rightful place among his ancestors. The function was essentially commemorative (lit. within memory): a monument of remembrance.

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[328] Most Phoenician bowls were found in funerary deposits. The known bowls from Greece differ from the rest however, in that they were found in a sanctuary, confirming their function as votive offerings or dedications (Markoe 1985: 79-82).

[329] A group of bronze bowls dated from the end of the 5th century BC from the Sharon Plain (present-day Israel) contain diverse inscriptions stating that they were offerings to the gods for the "life of the soul" of particular individuals. One bowl stated that it was a "libation bowl offered to the god 'Azmot" (Deutch and Heltzer 1994).

Generally speaking, the quest for fame and immortality and the tradition of a king metamorphosing into a mythological figure after death is strongly rooted in ancient Near Eastern tradition –the idea of raising humans to heroic levels goes back to the time when epic kings, such as Gilgamesh "establish[ed] forever a name eternal"[330] by confronting and defeating the forces of chaos during their lifetime. Thus, to be a king, hierarchically at the very tip of the human pyramid, implied obligations requiring defending and upholding the "heroic destiny" and the harmonious balance of the cosmic order as decreed by the gods.[331] In addition, parallel to the international ideological justification for the role of kingship and to the cosmological dimension of the Arjan bowl, we should not overlook the fact that, as betrayed by a number of details such as the Assyrian-dressed soldiers wearing the Elamite helmet;[332] the detailed portrayal of musicians, cooks, and performers on Register II; or the unique Tribute Scene on Register III, we are dealing with a number of events whose historical significance remains yet to be determined.

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[330] George 1999: Tablet II, 187.

[331] "I, Assurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, for whom Assur, king of the gods, and Ishtar, lady of battle, decreed a heroic destiny …" (Russell 1999: 201).

[332] Elamites are found in Assurbanipal's bodyguard and large numbers of them supported him during the Assyrian Civil war, accompanying his army on its campaigns in Elam itself (Reade 1972: 107 and Curtis and Reade 1996: 77).

In conclusion, the "biographical" aspects of the Arjan bowl have unveiled important aspects of the identity of the deceased revealing his elite social status as well as ideological concerns of religious and cosmological proportions. Hence, we may be gazing at events that took place in the Elamite-Persian permeable cultural *koine* of the second half of the seventh century BC, which, as the Arjan bowl strongly suggests, was a fascinating period of transition characterized by a symbiosis of emerging Persian influence with the last manifestations of an Elamite cultural and political revival.

II.13. THE CANDELABRUM

A bronze stand, most likely to be identified as a candelabrum, was found lying inside the western wall of the Arjan tomb. A. Alizadeh has described this object's main features suggesting similarities with late Assyrian art and dating it to not later than the end of the 8th century BC (Alizadeh 1985: 60). In the ensuing description and related comments I shall indicate this object shares close stylistic analogies with the Arjan "ring", the bowl, and the beaker, and, consequently, will argue it deserves to be seen as a production of the same workshop.

The 75 cm high stand can be structurally divided into upper, medium, and lower sections (plate 45).[333] Because of its simpler composition I shall first deal with the middle part. The section in the middle has been ably described by Alizadeh as a "long and slender stem furnished at each end with a bulb in the shape of a nine-petaled poppy or pomegranate, ten ridges each with eight over-hanging petals, decorate the stem itself. Unlike the upper bulb, the lower one is provided with a socket joint connecting it to another solid disc immediately underneath it is a long stem divided by eleven nine-petaled flowers resembling the palm-leaf capitals of Syro-Phoenician style" (Alizadeh 1985: 55 ff).

The upper part (plate 46) consists of a spool shaped device held up by six rampant lions standing on a flat disc. The open space between the spool and the disc seems to have been intended to house some kind of conical or a cylindrical container or torch. Each lion has elegantly curved necks and heads turned around ninety degrees, so as to sentinel the ground below with their fierce stare (plate 47). Some stylistic characteristics of the lions are remarkably close to those found in the lion-griffins represented on the Arjan 'ring.' Both forearms and hindlegs bear distinctive stylistic marks formerly described as paralleled striated outlines inside an almond-like shaped space. The front claws have vigorous fingers with striated bend-junctions marked by sets of parallel lines. A protruding muzzle emerges on both sides of the open mouth of the lion.

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[333] Weight of the candelabrum ca. 3000 grams; diameter of the disc on top ca. 11 cm; height of the lion figure on top 6.2 cm; height of the atlante on the lower part of the stnad ca. 11 cm. Inventory number 3003 + 2867 (see 7000 Jahre 2001: 124).

The lower part of the stand (plates 47, 48, 49) is made of a triangular metallic base to which three distinct elements have been welded. Three atlantes with stretched arms support the sides of three rampant guardian lions standing on the back of bulls placed at the corners of the triangle. A central bulb from which sprouts the stem of the stand is supported by the rounded tip of the helmet worn by the atlantes and the claws of the lions. The lions' heads turn approximately 45 degrees to the left. Stylistic characteristics on the lion's body and head do also match those found on the lions from the upper part of the stand and those found in the lion-griffin from the Arjan "ring." Notice in particular the same kind of almond-like shaped striated surfaces and the generally elongated and lean treatment of the body. A solid tail has been conceived perhaps for stability reasons as an extra third leg to be integrated with the hindlegs into the lower part of the body. Alizadeh also noticed marked stylistic parallels between the guardian lions on the Arjan stand and the twin lion motif decorating Assyrian scabbards (Alizadeh 1985: 61).

The upper body of the bearded atlantes is represented frontally (plate 48). Their headdress is a characteristic Elamite helmet with a rounded protuberance on top. Similar helmets appears on the Arjan bowl (see register Va). Next to the knob on the top, these helmets combine a frontal visor and a band with a row of rosettes (Majidzadeh 1990: 138).[334] In addition, given the evidence brought forth by the current example, these helmets may have included a pair of parallel horns.[335] The helmet covers an abundant mass of hair which reaches the shoulders folding into two small heaps. The atlantes's face is covered by a long beard divided into well defined perpendicular locks and a moustache in the shape of a moon crescent pointing to the ground. The atlantes wear an upper short-sleeve garment with fringes and a broad band. A wide belt divides this upper garment from the lower part of the body which is represented sidewise towards the left. An ankle long robe opens on its left side uncovering the presence of a short knee level skirt. The long robe is divided into three sections, each of which combines a fringe and a wide band which, like in the upper part of the garment, may have originally included on its fringes incrustations of rosettes.

The representation of atlantes is a common decorative motif of the first millennium BC. The concept may have originated in the Hittite realm or in northern Syria (Pottier 1918: 28, fig. 24; Alizadeh 1985: 66, nt. 114) where it passed on to Assyria (Barnett 1975 b). Two examples from the time of time Sargon II (721-705 BC) include atlantes as part of decorative furniture outfits. One example included on a table found at Khorsabad represents a pair of atlantes framing a central pillar. Another example from the orthostate representing the siege of Lachish (690 BC) includes a view of the royal throne of Sennacherib. Supporting the armrest of the throne there is a sequence of three rows of four atlantes looking towards the left (Parrot 1961: 41, fig. 49). Because of their composite nature (wings added to a human body), or the presence of horns on their helmets, these Neo-Assyrian atlantes can be characterized as mythical figures perhaps of divine status. At this respect, a late Neo-Elamite winged atlante from a plaque from Susa mentioned previously [plate 31: 4-6] combines the characteristics of a winged genius with and the atlantes from the Arjan stand. One significant example from the southern face of boulder III from Kul-i Farah depicts a high status individual standing on a platform supported by four kneeling atlantes (Amiet 1992: *RCS*, 12, fig. 14). There is nothing indicating these atlantes share mythological or divine status. To the contrary, the scene may represent an actual religious ritual that took place sometimes at the end of the 12th century BC or during the Neo-Elamite period.[336] The role of the atlantes was expanded during the Achaemenid Persian period so as to represent actual individual subjects of the empire participating as throne bearers.

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[334] The pointed-visor type helmet appears represented in the Middle Elamite stela of Untash-Napirisha. In the Neo-Elamite period we see it represented on the rock reliefs of Malamir (Izeh), from the time of Shutruk-Nahhunte (eighth century BC); And in the stele of Adda-Hamitti-In-Shushinak (ca 650 BC) (Amiet 1966: 552).

[335] Given the supernatural nature of these atlantes and the presence of horned helmets one should characterize these individuals as sharing some divine characteristics.

Three bulls located at the base of the stand [plate 49:2] rest on their stomach whose sides incorporate four folded legs. The bulls have strong arched necks and a heads. The top of the heads support a pair of long and pointy ears and a pair of horns. This figure seems to be a close three dimensional model of the running bulls represented on the inner register of the Arjan bowl. This figure can also be compared to various Neo-Elamite polychrome glazed examples which originally may have been served as wall knobs and representations of bulls from glazed tiles (Porada 1965: 69-70, pl. 14 and fig. 44). At Chigha Zabz, Luristan, a similar bull knob helps to confirm the Neo-Elamite date of the Susa example (Schmidt et. al. 1989: 24, pl. 145d). The

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[336] Date remains problematic, see Neo-Elamite open-air sanctuaries on Neo-elamite artistic periods here.

Neo-Elamite knob figurines may very well have inspired the bull capitals of the later Persian Apadanas (Heim 1992, *RCS*: 210, fig. 148).

A number of general parallels have been noticed between the Arjan candelabrum and an Urartian candelabrum found in the temple of Haldis in Toprak Kale (see plate 91; Barnett 1950: 25, fig. 13; Wartke 1993: 154-155, figs. 29-30).[337] The candelabrum is 136.5 cm high and combines a shaft decorated with five frills of leaves supporting a platform with high sides, and three legs supporting figurines of couching winged bulls with human heads and divine helmets. The legs of the stand terminate in bulls' hooves issuing from lion's jaws. An inscription mentioning the name of the Urartian king Rusa was found on the shaft. The Haldis temple from Toprak Kale contained the inscribed shields of Rusa III.[338] According to Barnett, the Haldis temple may have been burned and sacked by the Medes under Cyaxares in the earlier part of the 6th century BC (Barnett 1950: 24).

The Arjan candelabrum includes carefully orchestrated geometrical structural divisions [see plate 50]. On top of the stand, six threatening lions with gaping jaws and massive claws are arranged in a hexagonal shape on a circular disc. They are gazing down towards the direction of the central axe. At the base of the stand there is a triangular gathering of bulls, lions, and atlantes. Another imaginary hexagon is created by the bulls and atlantes gazing into the outer space, as the protective lions standing on the back of the bulls survey the remainder space between the back of the atlantes and the bulbous center of the stand. These divisions create an aura of protection enveloping the stand. Thus requirement to ward off wickedness and undesirable evil from the candelabrum appears to be a main concern of the artist. This strategic placement of the various apotrophaic elements in the stand underlines the imaginative aspect of the composition and further exhibits the exceptional qualitative properties of the workshop behind its manufacture.

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[337] The bronze 'candelabrum' was actually found on a building located south of the Haldis temple, on the eastern slope of the mound. The candelabrum was later acquired by the Hamburg Museum fur Kunst und Gewerbe (Barnett 1950: 24).

[338] The bronze shield of Sarduri II (Kamir Blur) in the Armenian Historical Museum contains three registers combining passing lions and bulls. The bronze shield of Argishti I (Kamir Blur) also in the Armenian Historical Museum is very similar to the one of Sarduri II but it includes a rosette in the middle.

II.14. THE BEAKER

An exceptional bronze beaker[339] measuring a diameter at the mouth of 9.4 cm and a height of 13 cm was found next to the western wall of the Arjan grave. The core bronze vessel supports a most unusual set of artistic properties by combining an upper register with representation of running ostriches and a lower section worked at repoussé to represent four overlapping lion heads converging into a central rosette (plates 51, 52]). At some point in the long history of the Arjan tomb water crept into the chamber to a height of 55cm. The beaker remained submerged in water and mud for an uncertain period of time. When the vessel was found it was heavily corroded, with accumulated layers of greenish oxidation, having lost most of its original rosette and the tip of the beaker. The cleaning of the contents of the tomb was done in presence of the authorities and Emman Jomeh from Behbahan. All the objects were packed and transferred to the National Museum of Iran. A summary report of the finds was published in Persian language by Towhidi and Khalilian in 1982 with a complimentary publication in English language by Alizadeh (1985). The beaker itself was summarily described in two articles by the Iranian scholars Vatandust (1988) and M-R. Sarraf (1990). Subsequent cleaning and restoration of the beaker at the National Museum of Iran (Tehran) unveiled unique sets of characteristics which invite the comprehensive study of the object which is offered on the following pages.

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[339] The Greek term rhyton is frequently used to identify this type of object. *Rhyton* is broadly used in the literature to cover any kind of animal-headed drinking vessel yet, in a narrower sense, *rhyton* identifies a wine drinking container with a small hole at the bottom; here, instead, the term beaker should be preferred.

Description and Commentary

The body of the bronze beaker is divided into two noticeable parts: an upper register or frieze going around the neck of the beaker representing six identical ostriches and a lower bulged section in the shape of four overlapping heads of lions whose open mouth locks onto a central rosette. All these decorative elements showing up in relief were made by hammering the design up from the back (repoussé) and adding detailed designs into the surface by engraving. The lip of the beaker bears the remains of what may be considered a brace hinge, indicating that originally a bucket handle may have be part of the beaker.

Ostriches (Sumerian *GA/GÁ.Nu*$_{x}$*(ŠIR).MUŠEN*, Acadian *lurmu*)

The ostriches in the upper register are distributed along an open field framed by three horizontal parallel lines and two single guilloches (see plate 53). They are depicted in the act of running with extended legs composed of muscular thighs and long solid bone-legs ending on strong paws marked by three extended fingers. The pair of wings opens up to form a diagonal line matching that of the front leg. Three sets of feathers sprout from a curved rachis (the shaft of a feather) attached to the center of the chest and lower belly. A characteristic long and curvy neck supports a small-set head containing a small v-shaped mark to represent the ear, a large eye, and a wide open beak with a characteristic outline separating the beak from the rest of the face. An array of feathers represents a bushy, half-drooping, tail. Finally, the unfeathered body of the ostrich, neck and thighs included, is distinctly embellished with short curved and straight lines.

Ostriches were part of the diverse fauna of the ancient Near East and, as indicated by available visual and textual evidence, were highly priced for their eggs and feathers.[340] For instance, Neo-Assyrian texts mention that Adad-Ninari killed eight ostriches and captured other eight while Assurnasirpal II, boasts to have captured 140 ostriches along with bulls, elephants and lions.[341] The illustration of a pair of raised wings in a flapping, flying-like effort on a running ostrich follows an artistic convention reaching back to the Middle Assyrian period. [342] A recent study on the depiction of ostriches in glyptic art by Dominique Collon reveals their depiction to have become particularly popular during the 8th and 7th centuries Neo-Assyrian period.[343]

Classical depiction includes an individual grabbing the ostrich by the neck and a hunter holding a weapon on one hand and an ostrich egg on the other [see plate 98].[344] A seal found in the temple of Ninurta at Nimrud, but probably originally from Iran, and dated to the 8th century BC locates this scene on a mountains setting.[345] Closer to the Elamite homeland, a "Luristan" type bronze beaker belonging to a well-known series of beakers depicts a bow hunter holding an ostrich's egg on his hand while pursuing an ostrich on the run and looking back [see plate 98, upper right corner]. This beaker was dated by P.R.S. Moorey between 1000 and 800 BC but D. Collon suggests lowering the date to between the late 9th or the beginning of the 8th century BC.[346]

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[340] For instance, a cup made from an ostrich egg was found in the 'A' cemetery at Kish (Laufer 1926: 2). For vessels made of ostrich eggs, see in CAD *lurmu,* pg. 255.

[341] Lion 1992: 202)

[342] Explanation of the bird's inability to fly might have been a favorite subject of ancient folktales; In fact, one tells how the sun scorched his pinions so that the pitiful animal plunged down to earth forever roaming restlessly in the dessert (Laufer 1926: 15)

[343] Mallowan and Davies, *Ivories in Assyrian Style,* Ivories from Nimrud (1949-1963), Fascicule II, The British School of Archaeology in Iraq, University Press Aberdeen.1970: 44-153, plate 36; D. Collon 'First Catch Your Ostrich', *Iranica Antiqua* 33: 25-42 (1998).

[344] Collon Ibid., 28, fig. 2; 30, fig. a; 28

[345] Parker 1962: plate 14, fig. 2; Collon Ibid., 28, fig. 3

The best stylistic analogy with the Arjan ostriches so far comes from the Neo-Elamite seal of *Šutur-huban son of Hupan-tašu*, an individual contemporary with the Acropole tablets found at Susa, broadly ca. 590 BC (plate 98).[347] The seal depicts a horseman on a leaping horse holding a lance pursuing a running ostrich; as conventional at this time, the ostrich turns its head back as the hunter nears. The running pose of the bird is characterized by a broad step, with open wings on a top-down diagonal. The depiction of the half-dropping bushy angular tail, strong legs, and long neck with wide open beak, also closely match elements of the ostrich represented on the Arjan beaker.

It is of interest to note that the depictions previously reviewed may point to two kinds of hunting practices, one including a hunter holding an ostrich egg, the other representing a horseman in hot pursuit of the bird. In both cases, the ostrich's wings are instinctively extended, a fact seemingly occurring in three circumstances: during mating season, when the ostrich rouses herself to flee, and in the act of running.[348] The fact that many depictions of ostrich hunting include a hunter holding an ostrich egg suggests that, before the advent of horsemanship, hunting ostriches might have been restricted to luring the animal out of its nest with another egg.[349] In fact, killing the animal and stealing the eggs was restricted to the incubation season—which lasts for a period of about 42 days; In addition, it would have involved confronting a bird reluctant to leave his or her station on the nest.[350]

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[346] Moorey 1981: 89, fig. 432; Collon 1998: 35, fig. 13

[347] Amiet 1973: 21, plate VIII, fig. 56.

[348] "The wings serve the ostrich, while running as ploy and rudder, and it has been observed that with favorable wind they are even used as sails" (Laufer 1926: 21); The bird performs dances at sunshine, run around in circle, flap their wings, and endeavor to rise in the air" (Goldie 1968: 17).

[349] The ostrich egg was already a symbol of resurrection in ancient Egypt (Finet 1983: 76); During the Medieval period it was widely believed that ostrich eggs were hatched entirely by the heat of the sun (Hall, 1974: 110; Réau 1955: 86, in Collon 1998: 40). Trapping ostriches may have had value for their feathers and eggs.

Improvement in the skill of horsemanship introduced elements of speed and distance into hunting practices and exposed the hunter to new animal behavioral patterns. Thus animals such as the ostrich which, except for the incubation season, seem to have otherwise been able to move beyond the reach and range of the hunter's territorial control, became potential targets. The observations of the Greek writer Xenophon regarding the hunting exploits of Cyrus' troops while marching through the Arabian Peninsula provide an interesting point of reference into this practice. In Xenophon's words:

> "In this region there was wild game of all kinds—wild asses in greatest abundance, with plenty of ostriches; besides these, there were bustards and antelopes.... No one was lucky enough to capture an ostrich. Some of the troopers did give chase, but it had soon to be abandoned; for the bird, in its effort to escape, speedily put a long interval between itself and its pursuers; plying its legs at full speed, and using its wings the while like a sail."[351]

It is the proverbial speed of the running bird—which can reach more than 60 miles per hour—that secured the escape and survival of the Arabian ostriches. Likewise, Xenophon's account reveals an insight into the hunting abilities of Cyrus' horseman, namely: they appear not to have been acquainted with a most characteristic attribute of ostrich behavior, that is: the bird's failure to run on a straight line. Conversely, it is said that Bedouin Arabs made ostrich hunting a favorite activity by taking full advantage of the ostrich's penchant for the circle. Thus while the bird ran on a loop pursued by a small group of hunters on relay, the rest of the group chased down the ostrich by cutting through the diameter. Still, such trophies were not to be obtained without a high price, being "generally estimated that the capture of an ostrich must be at the sacrifice of the life of a horse or two..."[352]

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[350] See Bertram 1992: 68)

[351] Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, chapter 5):

Lion-headed beakers (Sumerian SAG.DU.UR.MAH, Acadian *kaqqad nēše*)

The lower part of the beaker is composed of four formidable heads of lions with an overly open jaw locking on the remains of a large central rosette originally composed of eighteen petals perhaps surrounding a nipple.[353] The four overlapping heads share a common mane composed of four consecutive overlying rows of small locks of hair reaching back to the base-line of the upper register. The face of the lions is distinctively ferocious as evidenced by the fixed stare of the eyes and protruding cheeks.[354] The lion plays a main role in the artistic glossary of ancient Near Eastern iconography but it is only during the second millennium, and in particular, during the first millennium as a protective guardian been often associated to the figure of the king that its facial traits take over a terrifying aspect.

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[352] Canon Tristam reporting on Bedouin hunter of ostriches (mentioned by F. Goldie 1968: 36).

[353] The beaker may have originally included a nipple or knob at the bottom center.

[354] The line of hair on the ears, the exaggerated, distended, open jaws, and the ferocious stare of the face shares close resemblance with heads of lions represented in two other objects found in the Arjan tomb: the lion-headed griffin from the Arjan 'ring' and in the bronze lions from the Arjan candelabrum. In a number of forthcoming articles I will hope to show these three objects to have been made by the same workshop. For a comprehensive study of he Arjan 'ring' see my 'Elamite Rings of Power', in the forthcoming *Elam and Persia, edited by Eisenbrauns.*

Animal-headed drinking cups are well represented in the history of ancient Near Eastern art with a diversity of shapes and styles. The earliest examples go back to the 2nd millennium BC, with abundance of textual and visual references supporting the widespread popularity of this conspicuous type of drinking vessel.[355] The greatest numbers of animal-headed beakers were manufactured in faience; some were made of metal, including gold and silver, with a diverse array of animal heads as shapes including bulls, lions, horses, rams or goats.

A sub-group of this corpus of beakers is the singular lion-headed situlae or beakers which have been comprehensively studied by K. Deller.[356] Their manufacturing origin might be traced to North-Syria or Anatolia. From there this form seems to have spread into Assyria, where it became particularly popular during the 8th and possibly 9th century BC. One of the most well known and rare surviving example of lion-headed beakers was found inside a Phrygian funerary Tumulus at Gordion. This elaborate beaker appears to be an exact three-dimensional example of the ones depicted in great numbers during the time of Sargon II (722-705 BC) in the palace walls of the Assyrian capital of Khorsabad. This correspondence has lead some authors to suggest a possible Phrygian origin of the beakers, the result of tribute that Sargon must have received from king Midas of Phrygia in 718 BC.[357] On the other hand, because related palace reliefs include representation of the looting of the Urartian city of Musasir in 714 BC, an

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[355] see P. Calmeyer, 'Zum TongefäB in form eines Gazellenkopfes', in W. Kleiss ed., Bastam I, Teheraner Forschungen, Band IV, pp. 195-201 1979.1979: 195; J. Curtis 'Animal-headed Drinking Cups in the late Assyrian Period', ...R. Dittmann et. al. eds. In *Variatio Delectat Iran un d der Westen,* Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster, pp 2000

[356] K. Deller (1985: 327-346)

[357] (Young et al. 1981: 123, in Stronach 1995: 184)

Urartian origin to the beakers has also been advanced.[358] Both possibilities, however, remain highly hypothetical and are most likely to be discarded in favor of an Assyrian manufacture for the single lion-headed beakers. It is relevant to review the evidence since its outcome bears weight for the contextual understanding of the Arjan beaker.

According to drawings of the Khorsabad reliefs made when they were still *in situ* by the French painter Eugène Flandin in 1844, the single lion-headed beaker appears profusely depicted in connection with three different types of events that presumably must have taken place in the Assyrian capital: a monumental banquet scene (Rooms II and VII), a tribute scene with participation of foreigners (Room VI), and a procession of Assyrian attendants advancing towards the king (Façade L). The tribute scene is represented on two slabs and includes two pairs of foreign tributaries carrying a total of 8 lion-headed beakers.[359] Two more beakers are represented on façade L, this time carried by an Assyrian attendant advancing towards the king.[360] The banquet scene is the most significant as in its original conception, it included large numbers of paired notables sitting on tall stools across square offering tables or standing up and holding lion-headed beakers. An earlier prototype of the banquet narrative is to be found engraved on a fragment of ivory strip dated to the 9th century BC.[361] The banquet includes a king holding a bowl seated before a table and groups of four banqueters on each side of a table holding both bowls and beakers. Unfortunately, there is not enough detail to determine whether or not the beakers are of the single lion-headed type.

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[358] R.S. Young, 'Bronzes from Gordion's Royal Tomb', *Archaeology* 11: 227-231 (1958); Kinnier Wilson 1972, plate 2 (a); D. Stronach 'The Imagery of the Wine: Wine in Assyria in the Early First Millennium B.C.', in P.E. McGovern, S.J.Fleming, and S.H.Katz, eds., *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, Gordon and Breach Publishers, the Netherlands, pp. 175-196 (1996)

[359] Albenda plate 66.

[360] Albenda 129, plate 47.

[361] Mallowan and Davies 1970: 18, plate V, fig.7

It is impossible to come to a precise idea of the number of lion-headed beakers originally represented in the banquet scene from Khorsabad given that only twelve slabs, out of the original forty-eight, have survived; Nonetheless, an approximate number can be offered based on the 61 lion-headed beakers depicted on the remaining twelve slabs; Hence, giving that the original banquet frieze spread continuously throughout along 48 slabs it is possible that the original work included representation of roughly 244 single lion-headed beakers.

The Khorsabad orthostats depicting the banquet reliefs are complimented in their lower-half by the representation of two activities closely associated to the persona of the king Sargon II: hunting scenes and military campaigns that took place in various localities of the Zagros Mountains. These include not just the looting of the temple of Musasir but fortified towns such as the citadel of Harhar,[362] situated in the region of present day Kermanshā, in Median territory captured in 716 BC.[363]; Or the citadel of Kišesim a town associated to Harhar in the province of Parsuaš captured by Sargon II in 716 BC.[364]

To recapitulate, according to the extant Assyrian reliefs, more than two hundred single lion-headed beakers might have been represented in the monumental banquet friezes from Khorsabad. Although this evidence does not necessarily provide absolute certitude that the beakers were manufactured in Assyria it attests to the existence of a vigorous bronze industry capable of producing large amounts of high quality lion-headed beakers.[365] Since the banquet scene appears to depict a great celebration held in honor of Sargon's victorious campaigns in the East, one could indeed argue the possibility that these drinking beakers were result of tribute from the East and support this point with the tribute representation on room VI. On the other hand, there is no reason to believe the Assyrian workshops were incapable to provide the king with a suitable prestige beaker of the type exemplified here. In conclusion, it is more likely, but cannot be fully substantiated by the evidence, that the single lion-headed beaker was a luxury item associated with the patronage of the Assyrian king Sargon II (722-705 BC) and that, correspondingly, the lion-headed beaker found at Gordion is better understood as a prestige item from Sargon II to king Midas of Phrygia after 718 B.C.

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[362] The city of Harhar was also represented in the reliefs. The upper register is too damaged but it seems to include another banquet scene; P. Albenda *The Palace of Sargon King of Assyria* (Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Synthèse 22, Paris, 1986, p. 272, Plate 112)

[363] Albenda 1986: 272: plate 111, room 2 slab 7; Vallat 1993: 83.

[364] Albenda 1986: 273, room 2 slab 22; Vallat 1993: 141.

In addition to the Assyrian beakers, and allegedly coming from the Luristan homeland, we should include in this discussion a pair of bronze beakers[366] dated circumstantially to the 10th, 9th, and the 8th centuries BC.[367] These conspicuous beakers were ornamented by combining a number of distinguishing elements familiar to us through the Khorsabad and Arjan examples, namely: the slightly repoussé and engraved decoration of a single lion head with exceedingly open jaw enclosing a rosette around a nipple, a register in the upper half of the beaker, and a single guilloche.[368]

As the evidence stands, a case can be made in favor of a technical and stylistic progression of metallic lion-headed beakers favoring increased complexity in the artistic attributes and manufacture of the beakers. Granted, this evolution assumes a logical direct artistic sequence which might have not necessarily existed. Yet, conceptual similarities among this small corpus of beakers seem to foster a theoretical position in favor of diverse but closely related traditions. A suitable starting point to begin documenting this evolution is observed on the standardized 10th-8th century Luristan bronze beakers previously mentioned. Stylistically, the "Luristan" and the Assyrian and Gordion beakers from the time of Sargon II (722-705 BC) are composed of a single repoussé lion head with a mane reaching back to meet the borderline marking the base of a register. Distinguishing differences though are the slight low-relief repoussé of the Luristan beakers; lack of the characteristic knob and rosette at the base of the Assyrian beaker, plus a distinctive modeled head of the lion bulging out of the vessel and becoming almost three dimensional. To a certain extent, when compared to their Assyrian counterpart, the Luristan examples represent a less luxurious production. Their date and style however suggest emulation with a contemporary single lion-headed beaker as the one perhaps documented in the 9th century ivory strip found at Nimrud. The Arjan beaker does visibly renew with the "Luristan" tradition in a more artistically and technically accomplished way. Indeed the "Luristan" beakers with their characteristic knob, rosette and engraved single lion head, and guilloche can be considered an earlier prototype of the Arjan beaker. At the same time, the more elaborate multiple lion heads of the Arjan beaker continue in the modeled Assyrian tradition but cleverly substitute the jaws of the lions for a rosette and perhaps a central nipple. Thus, as time went by, the distinctive ornamentation of the beakers, which relied on an upper register and a lower base decorated with single or multiple lion heads appears to have favored a further bulging and projection of the base. This evolution seems to have been continued and further changed during the Achaemenid-Persian period with an increasing extension and elongation of the base of the beaker in form of animal protomes bended at right angles to the cup.[369]

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[365] The mentioning in texts from the Assyrian capital at Nineveh of lion-heads made of metal could perhaps be referring to beakers (Deller 1985: 331, letter of Sîn-bēl-[ ], line 18; pg. 332, letter of Nergal-Sharrani, line 11).

[366] These beakers were most probably made in western Iran under both Babylonian and Elamite influences (see Muscarella 1974). The series of "Luristan" beakers are problematic in that their origin, and, in some cases, authenticity, remains a matter of much hazardous discussion.

[367] Muscarella 1974: 248; Collon 1998: 35

[368] M-R. Sarraf 1990: 56, 57, figs. 64, 65.

Observations on the Function of Lion-headed Beakers

Banquet scenes have been related with a plurality of ceremonies and multifaceted associations whose meaning has been variously interpreted.[370] The evidence reviewed in these pages attests to the existence of hundreds of lion-headed beakers whose function was strongly linked to a ceremonial feast celebrating the military and hunting exploits of the Assyrian king. There is a strong association in Neo-Assyrian visual narratives and textual evidence between a ceremonial offering combining a drinking vessel, wine, and the deliberate taking of a life of an enemy or hunted prey (i.e. the spilling of blood). Nowhere is this association more vividly portrayed than in one of the most dramatic episodes of ancient Near Eastern political history, namely: the confrontation between the Assyrian king Assurbanipal and the Elamite king Te'umman. The conflict ended in 653 BC with an armed clash in whose aftermath Te'umman lost his head; this outcome appears to have been part of the wider divine order, as prophesized by the oracle and retold by Assurbanipal:

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[369] This is certainly a rather simplistic view that needs to be integrated into the larger study of zoomorphic drinking pottery or metallic made cups (see J. Curtis 2000).

[370] Denzer 1982; F. Pinnock 'Considerations on the « banquet Theme » in the Figurative Art of Mesopotamia and Syria ', in L. Milano, ed., *Drinking in Ancient Societies*, History of the Ancient Near East / Studies VI, Sargon srl, Padova, 1994: pp. 15-26.1994; P. Michalowski, 'The Drinking Gods: Alcohol in Mesopotamian Ritual and Mythology', in L. Milano, ed., *Drinking in Ancient Societies*, History of the Ancient Near East / Studies VI, Sargon srl, Padova, 1994:. 27-44.1994).

> "I, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, I presented the head of Te'umman, king of Elam, like an offering in front of the gate inside the city. As it had been said of old by the oracle, "you will cut off the heads of your enemies, you will pour wine over them, [...]!" accordingly the gods Shamash and Adad granted this in my time [...].'[371]

It is interesting that that fulfillment of the prophecy, the pouring of wine over the rebel's head, was enacted by Assurbanipal in what seems to be a public sphere: "in front of the gate inside the city". This libation ceremony seems to find a visual replica in the famous hunting relief of Assurbanipal were the king stands in front of an offering table holding a drinking bowl from which falls a braid of wine over the head of four dead lions [figure 43:4].[372] There is some textual evidence indicating that such performances might have been enacted as part of a triumphal entrance into the city, in the context of the king's return from a military campaign.[373]

A more intimate version of the ceremony celebrated at the city's gate appears to have ensued inside the private royal quarters. Behind the apparent harmony of one of the most mysterious reliefs of ancient Near eastern art, the famous relief of "Assurbanipal and queen taking refreshment" [374] lays a patina of blood and destruction, and the not-so-hidden sub-text of a deep personal hatred between the Assyrian king

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[371] J.M. Russell, The Writing on the Wall, Eisenbrauns, Indiana (1999), pg. 161, Text 14 A.

[372] Thus Russell 1999: 202; A prototype to these scenes over two centuries earlier may be found on the royal hunt of bulls and reliefs of Ashurnasirpal (Curtis and Reade, *Art and Empire, Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum,* The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1995. 1995: 52-55, figs. 6 and 7).

[373] Thus E. Weissert in Amar Annus, *The God Ninurta, In the Mythology and Royal Ideology of Ancient Mesopotamia,* State Archives of Assyria Studies, Vol. XIV, Finland (2002), pg. 106.

[374] Thus H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient,* Yale University Press, 1954: 193, fig. 217.

Assurbanipal and the Elamite king Te'umman.[375] Indeed, it is the infamous head of the Elamite traitor that hangs from the tree in the vine garden setting, exhibiting keen familiarity with what D. Stronach has fittingly labeled a "traditional Elamite formula for prosperity and well being".[376] The head of Te'umman, in addition to the offering table, and the presence of a cup most certainly containing wine, clearly ties this relief to the prior libation ceremony celebrated at the city gates suggesting continuity of action and purpose. Seeing under a religious lens, the libation at the city's gate and the associated banquet ceremony in the royal garden with, in both cases the presence of an offering table, reveals a particular sacrificial dimension to the death of Te'umman. A dimension framed by the auspicious element of the oracle, as messenger of the gods, and by the royal libation as prerogative to the gods;[377] thus, ultimately, it is the circle of fate which, determined by the gods, moved in a continuous line from the public space of the city gates into the private setting of the royal garden, symbol of bounty and the prosperity of the kingdom. Finally, one may note that C. Nylander suggested on his careful study of selective mutilated parts of this relief, that the hands of Elamite retribution might have been responsible for its defacing and disfigurement.[378] The Elamite iconoclasts appear to have taken particular offence at the formula king-cup-wine, as if their actual defacing and extrication from the relief put an end, perhaps brutally but decisively, to the supernatural communion between the king and the gods.

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[375] In 674 B.C. a bilateral treaty of "good will and peace...friendship and comradeship", sealed by oaths and sworn by Elamite and Assyrian gods and by an exchange of Elamite and Assyrian princes, was made between the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (681-669 BC) and the Elamite king Urtak (DATE?), thus transforming the geo-political dynamics of the Near East (Parpola 1972: 34, nt. 66 with references; Parpola 1987: 181). According to the Assyrian annals, after the death of Esarhaddon in 669 B.C., Assurbanipal honored his father's word by helping the Elamites during a period of famine. Peace between Elam and Assyria lasted five more years. In 664 B.C the treaty came to an abrupt end when, for no discernible reason, Urtak decided to take part on a raid against Babylonia and ended dying in its aftermath. Thereafter, a challenger to the Elamite throne named Te-Uman "sat on the throne of Urtak" (Gerardi 1987: 133). It is interesting to note that, contrary to what the facts suggest, Assurbanipal did not blame Urtak for violating the *adê* treaty made by his father. Instead, he considers the usurper Te-uman, "the image of a *gallû* demon," responsible for this act of treason; demonstrating perhaps the unique nature of personal relationships between Assurbanipal and nobles of the Urtak household.

[376] Stronach 1995: 190)

[377] It is suitable to recall that Hittite ritual texts allude to the deification of the liquid inside the cup presenting thus evidence of an Eucharistic "drinking the blood of the god". See Hans G. Güterbock, 'To Drink a God', *24th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale,* Istanbul (1998), pp. 121-129.

It should be evident by now that neither one of these two ceremonies previously discussed included a lion-headed type of beaker. This marks a slight contrasting note amongst the royal religious ceremonies of the Assyrian king, which can be said to be of an individual character, versus the more collective oriented ceremonial banquet represented in the Khorsabad orthostates. In all three cases, though, the presence of offering tables and drinking vessels whose contents may have with all certainty been wine introduces a dimension of celebratory sacrifice directly tied to the role of wine. Generally speaking, the palpable relationship between the color of blood and wine in addition, to the intoxicating properties of wine—which "enables man to partake, for a fleeting moment, of the mode of being attributed to the gods"[379]— seems to have predetermined the social role of wine and its participation on ceremonial rituals.[380] In this paper we have discussed possible ways the Arjan beaker might have been used and its possible functions as well. But so much of the present discussion has centered on ritual aspects and solemn observations on elite practices related to wine that we may be committing a serious mistake in omitting the more mundane and informal aspects of this experience and its role in understanding alternative views to the artistic function of the Arjan beaker.

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[378] (Nylander 1999)

[379] (Cirlot 1971: 374)

[380] Much has been written about the symbolic nature of wine (Sumerian GEŠTIN.MEŠ/ Acadian *karānu*, Gorny 1996).

Following a suggestive article by P. Michalowski, modern Western moral values regarding the consumption of alcohol, sex, and food, appear to be of little help when assessing the role of wine in the ancient Near East.[381] Alcoholic consumption and wine drinking in particular, was a highly social event full of ambiguous character. Their consumption was bracketed in the context of ceremonial banquets "allowing for a free play of language and sex in a structured environment. As a result we encounter sexual license, formalized debate, and comment on rank, status, and order in society."[382] In this context, the intoxicating properties of alcohol opened the door to a certain apprehension: potential excess and unpredictability the character of which could be only be compensated by self-control. Thus deeds or words manifested in a state of inebriation were suffused by an element of intimacy and trust rarely unavailable on any other social context.

We may indulge for a moment into this ancient apprehension and look at the hypothetical prospect that overindulgence might, in fact, have been the main intellectual impulse behind the artistic composition and selected visual narrative of the Arjan beaker. Indeed, the presence of a row of identical six running ostriches circling the upper part of the Arjan beaker, combined with four dramatic heads of lions at the base, may be part of a humorous contrasting note on the part of the artist and/or the patron supporting this type of elite art. In addition to suggest that this specific type of beaker might have been produced with a concrete custumer on mind.

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[381] Thus Michalowski 1994. Wine consumption was part of banquet ceremonies since early Dynastic times. By the first millennium BC cuneiform sources indicate that an increasingly expanding viticulture allowed for the spreading of wine consumption (Powell 1996: 119). For instance, the famous royal banquet of Ashurnasirpal II for the dedication of the NW palace at Nimrud where he copiously wined and dined 69,574 invitees must have required an extensive viticulture infrastructure comprising storage units and cellars and a healthy metallurgical infrastructure to manufacture large amounts of prestige beakers. Indeed, the presence of a wine cellar at Nimrud "stacked with the remnants of great wine jars" and administrative documentation listing wine disbursements does amplify the importance of this beverage (K. Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists*, British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London.1972; F.M. Fales, 'A Fresh Look at the Nimrud Wine Lists', in L. Milano, ed., *Drinking in Ancient Societies*, History of the Ancient Near East / Studies VI, Sargon srl, Padova, 1994: 361, 370, nt. 52; Stronach 1995: 179).

[382] P. Michalowski 1994; 40.

It is particularly noticeable that the ostrich is repeated six times around the neck of the beaker and that, contrary to most representations of ostriches where a huntsman is represented in their hot pursuit, here the heroic hunter seems to have been purposely omitted form the picture. I will certainly argue that those familiar with ostriches' behavior must have been able to capture the clever visual metaphor articulated in the beaker's composition as ostriches are in the habit of running on a circle. Likewise, the absence of the hunter invites to wonder whether it is the same ostrich that freely runs on a circle unconcerned by human predator or, as it were, it was the gaze of the illustrious drinker—perhaps a warrior himself?— that holding the beaker by its neck might have fleetingly experienced the gratifying illusion of seizing an ostrich on the run.... We will probably never know; however, if the wise words of the Prophet Job are to be of any guidance in this matter it would appear that, at least for this time, it was the ostrich who had the final laugh: *"...when [the ostrich] rouses herself to flee (spreads her feathers), she laughs at horse and rider"(Job 39: 18).* [383]

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[383] This quote and aspects related to the stylistic analysis of the Arjan beaker have been directly inspired by Dominique Collon's humorous and yet instructive article: 'First Catch your Ostrich" (Collon 1998).

II.15. THE SILVER JAR

A plain silver jar was located inside the western wall of the tomb (plate 54). The diameter of the mouth is 7.4 cm, and the height is about 11 cm. The jar has a sharply carinated body bearing a ribbing decoration on its broad inclined shoulder and a flat ring bases. The jar contains the inscription "Kiddin-Hutran son of Kurlush" on the outer side of the lip. Closer inspection of the location where this inscription was engraved reveals a coarse surface edge which sharply contrasts with the smoother finish of the rest of the vessel. This unusual detail could be explained as result of the melting and reworking of the original surface of the vessel. One possible reason to rework a small section of the vessel could be to erase a previous inscription located on the inner part of the lip. Yet, a careful naked-eye examination of the vessel by this author and Sharookh Razamjou yielded inconclusive results.

There is a number of matching bronze examples from Susa, Luristan, and Uruk but none bear the ribbing decoration of the Arjan example. Chronologically, the vessel fits well within the Neo-Elamite period (see plate 58).[384] At Susa, the exemplar in Ville Royale II level 7B (square F 10, locus burial 693) presents some similarities[385] but a better earlier example is represented by a pottery vase ca. 13 cm high found at burial 2346 (trench 2351) in the Apadana-Ville Royale (see plate 48: 122; Miroschedji 1981b: 155, figure 48, 9, plate xvii:12;). The pottery from this burial is akin to that found on

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[384] For the Uruk examples see E. Strommenger 1967: pls. 48: 4, 49: 5. *Gefässe aus Uruk* (Berlin 1967),

[385] Vase made of two bronze or copper sheets hammered and joined at shoulder level (Miroschedji 1981: 114, figure 40: 12; plate XII: 22).

Ville Royale II, levels 9 and 8, or P. de Miroschedji's Neo-Elamite I period (Miroschedji 1981b: 144).

Two more identical exemplars are also at the Louvre (Mecquenem 1943: 50, figs. 42 and 466) and first millennium Luristan.[386] Controlled excavations at War Kabud's cemetery (dated to the later 8th or earlier 7th century BC.) provided another comparable example. An inscribed bronze vessel from Luristan made of a simple, hammered bronze sheet with a slightly everted rim, tall neck, and broad inclined shoulder. There is a constriction running round the body about two-thirds of the way down the side and the vessel has a slightly raised base. The vessel is 8.2 m high, 7.7 cm at the lip (with a maximum diameter of 10.1 cm) (Moorey 1972: 161-162, plate VIa). This vessel bears an inscription which identifies the vessel as "the seal of Mr Labâshi". According to W.G.Lambert, "the rendering of the signs but also the content confirms the illiteracy of the engraver". Lambert suggests that an illiterate engraver (from Luristan) copied the (Babylonian) inscription on the Iranian type object (Lambert 1972: 162-163).

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[386] Vanden Berghe 1967: 60-61 (War Kabud); 1977: 60 (Chamzhi Mumah); 1980: 42 (Djub-i Gauhar); Herzfeld 1941: 117, fig. 232; Moorey 1971: 265, fig. 22, 504.

II.16. THE BRONZE JAR

A 17.5 cm tall bronze jar and 10.6 cm wide at the mouth was found deposited along the western wall of the Arjan tomb (plate 55). Broadly similar is a bronze jar about 5.5 cm in diameter at the rim and 15.7 cm high found in Marlik presents a pear-shaped body with a small elongated neck gradually widening toward the mouth. The turned lip flares out. This vessel is dated from the 13th to the 11th centuries BC (Negahban 1983: 71-72, fig. 39). Another parallel may be established with a high-necked bronze pitcher with a pear-shaped body from Luristan (15 cm high and 10 cm diameter) dated to the 8th -7th centuries BC (Dupont-Sommer IA 4, plate XXXIII). Finally, smaller versions of the Arjan pear-shapped jar are attested at Susa on glazed clay during the Neo-Elamite period (funerary cave 693, Ville Royale II level 7B; see plate 58; P. de Miroschedji 1981b: 111, figs. 26-33 and plate vii, fig. 10). They are dated to the second half of the 8th and 7th centuries BC (de Miroschedji 1981b: 39).

II.17. THE BRONZE LAMP

A bronze lamp with a broadly conical in the shape, wider at the base than at the top, was found along the eastern wall of the Arjan tomb. The lamp has a broad shoulder decorated with a succession of circular ribs downward the base (plate 55).

A lamp of similar characteristics was found by R. de Mecquenem in a traditional Elamite grave from the east of the Apadana mound at Susa (Burial C, 4.90 meters by 2.45 meters in height). According to the publication, this is a neo-Babylonian period lamp made of hammered copper and belonging to the time of Shilkhak Inshushinak (Mecquenem 1943: 50-51, fig. 43). From the same burial the author regroups in one chronological category two copper vases of the end of the Neo-Elamite period (Mecquenem 1943: 50, fig 42, numbers 4 and 6).

II.18. BRONZE CHALICES

A group of thirteen identical bronze vessels in the shape of chalices were deposited along the western wall of the tomb (plate 56). They seem to have been made by hammering a thick bronze sheet into the target shape of a cup. A bronze chalice from Susa discovered in a tomb from Level 7B in Ville Royale II (locus F 10, T.693), provides an almost exact replica to these vessels (see plate 58: 121; Miroschedji 1981: 113, fig. 40: 13; plate XII: 23). Comparable examples also appeared in the 1943 R. de Mecquenen excavations.[387]

There are also unstratified examples from Luristan and northern Iran dated to the early 1st millennium BC (Calmeyer 1969: 40, taf. 46; Moorey 1971, pl. 80; Amiet 1976; Vanden Berghe 1976; Negabhan 1983). The examples from Marlik are dated to the second half of the eight century BC (Porada 1962; Vanden Berghe 1983), a date also supported by the finds at Susa. Related to these beakers are vases made of glazed ceramic said to have come from Northwest Iran (Wilkinson 1975). According to Alizadeh, the frequency in the occurrence of this type of vases in the Zagros Mountains and in northern Iran may indicate for it an origin in these regions rather than in the plain of Susiana.

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[387] According to p. de Miroschedji (1981: 113) two unpublished samples are present at the Louvre (one being SB 12700).

OBJECTS FROM OUTSIDE THE TOMB

II.19. THE STONE BOWL

The exact placement of this object in relation to the tomb and related material is unclear. Since the bowl seems to have been broken into many pieces it is possible that this is in fact one of the original surface vessels located directly above the Arjan tomb (plate 56). This heavy vessel was apparently damaged by a bulldozer that was working on the leveling of the ground during the construction of a dam in the Marun River The heavily polished stone bowl has an elegant bell shape with a diameter at the mouth of 24.6 cm, a height of 18.4 cm, and a base of 8.6 cm diameter. The lip of the bowl measures ca. 1cm wide.

II.20. THE TABLET FROM ARJAN

A small clay tablet bearing a cuneiform inscription was found outside the Arjan tomb by Mr. Esmael Yaghmaee and Mr Kaboli. The tablet was found on the surface level, next to layers containing two pottery jugs that were apparently damaged by the bulldozer that hit the Arjan tomb.[388] An initial unpublished translation of the tablet by H. Koch and Walter Heinz reveals the language was indeed Neo-Elamite of the kind found in the documents from Susa. According to the transliteration made H. Koch, lines A.1-2 may contain reference to a *[ba?] hu-ri sha-a[k x?-]* ([Ba]huri son of?).[389] A

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[388] Personal communication by Mr. Towhidi.

[389] An informal translation of the tablet was made by H. Kohn and send to Mr. Mousavi by W. Hinz. This author got a copy of the translation through A. Mousavi.

Bahuri son of Mazzini is the main celebrity in the 'Nineveh' letters and, according to Vallat, should be considered the founder of a dynastic line in Zamin (Bahuri is also attested in MDP 9, 88). Given the chronological and contextual problems related to most Neo-Elamite inscriptions, and the potential impact of this inscription for the dating of Neo-Elamite inscriptions, I have provided digital copies of the text to M. Stolper and W. Henkelman who have agreed to look over the tablet and its previous interpretation. At any event, what seems unmistakably significant for the time being is that, despite the lack of precise stratigraphic information regarding the tablet, the possible Neo-Elamite idenitiy of he tablet and the fact that it appears to have been found in the vicinity of the tomb, might confirm the relevance of Arjan as an important Neo-Elamite archaeological site.

Subsequently, I sent digital copies of the tablet and a copy of the translation to both M. Stolper and W. Henkelman. Their translations and comments of the tablet should be soon forthcoming.

SUMMARY: THE ARJAN TOMB

The archaeological evidence from the area where the Arjan burial was found attests to the presence of extensive Sassanian constructions. Except for the Neo-Elamite burial at Arjan, archaeological surveys in the region recorded no evidence of Achaemenid or Elamite remains. On the other hand, lack of assessment of the ancient ruins of Arrajan prevent from knowing what, if anything, lies under the Sassanian city. In sum, according to textual evidence, the ancient Neo-elamite capittal of Hidalu— a main urban center already during the 7th century BC (Neo-Assyrian texts) which continued to be an active town at the beginning of the first half of the sixth century BC and remained important during the Achaemenid period (ca. 500 BC)— appaears to be in the vicinity of the Arjan tomb. The region, it shall be remembered, was probably part of the Uxian territory at the time of Alexander's arrival at the region. All in all, the texts do not add precision to the location of Hidalu but give an approximate sense of its position in relation to the towns of Daher and Kesat. If anything, this information, in conjunction to the previous archaeological evidence form the Behbehan and Fahlian regions—including extensive Sassanian ruins and the presence of a Neo-Elamite burial—indicates the importance of these regions fro the late Neo-Elamite period, as persisting candidates for the location of Hidalu.

The Arjan burial should be seen as the manifestation of a complex social network combining the participation of hierarchical structures and funerary practices. The discovery of a single, intact, burial containing a high status individual and associated luxurious goods allows us to make a number of observable points regarding aspects of funerary practices and beliefs during the end of the Neo-Elamite period. The Arjan burial is linked to a Zagros funerary architectural tradition in its usage of stone (versus a mud brick tradition, commonly used at Susa). On the other side, the gypsum plastered walls and the floor of the Arjan tomb, the symmetrical design of the tomb, and the presence of a U-shaped bronze coffin follow traditional Elamite burial practices from the west. In addition to the type of burial, the presence of funerary goods and a bronze coffin suggests permanence of traditional Elamite the religious beliefs and practices.

The Arjan sarcophagus inside the tomb is closely related to similar bathtub-type sarcophagus from Nimrud, Ur, and Zinjirli. The concentration of these coffins in the Assyrian capital at Nimrud appears to suggest the presence of a workshop production center associated with the Assyrian court, serving the elite. As we have seen, the use of terracotta bathtub-style coffins appears to have be relatively common during the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Neo-Elamite periods, and continued to be used down to the Parthian period. In this light, their presence at Susa and the luxurious bronze counterpart in Arjan, should not be necessarily seen as atypical of Neo-Elamite funerary traditions. What is certainly atypical, it would seem however, is that the Arjan coffin happens to follow Assyrian bronze-coffin manufacturing traditions. At any rate, the use of this type of Assyrian made coffin by royal Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian elites would suggest certain emulation on the part of the Elamite leadership.

There is no doubt that the expense implicit in the construction of the Arjan tomb and the luxurious items found inside suggests that the adult male buried inside enjoyed a status of wealth and high rank. Some perishable materials such as wood, basketry work, or textiles, are rarely preserved, but in this case, the exceptional survival of cotton textiles in the Arjan tomb, their conservation and study, invites reassessment of long held views regarding textiles and garments in the ancient Near east and in Elam in particular. Three elements of the Arjan textile evidence are most outstanding. (1) This is the second attested evidence of cotton-made textiles found in the ancient Near East and the first found in a funerary setting; (2) It is the first time we have actual evidence of a garment decorated with fringes bearing embroideries; and (3) the presence of a garment decorated with three types of golden bracteates invokes a number of analogies with Neo-Elamite garment traditions. These three elements invite us to suggest the presence of Neo-Elamite luxury garments inside the Arjan tomb. In addition, the presence of cotton garments indicates the existence of traffic of cotton from a production center, most likely to the island of Dilmun.

In the Arjan tomb we have encountered a number of unique masterpieces of superior artistic value and rare craft. Close stylistic similarities amongst these objects, in particular the Arjan ring, the candelabrum, and the bowl suggests they were made in the same workshop and, most likely, by the same hands. The manufacture of these objects could be said to fit comfortably within the general chronological limits of the Neo-Elamite IIIA period (between 650 and 585 BC), extending perhaps into the beginning of the 6th century BC.

Among this corpus of objects I propose to identify two phases and two different groups of objects and periods which, for the sake of conveninece I will call Arjan I and Arjan II. This division relies on the likelihood that Kiddin-Hutran, whose inscription is found in four objects, gathered a number of heirloom objects of earlier manufacture. In fact, as I shall substantiate in the next chapter, a main corpus of luxurious objects (Arjan I, namely: the bathtub coffin, the Arjan ring, the bowl, the silver jar, and the candelabrum, the beaker, and possibly the dagger[390]) can be said to be heirlooms and be dated to a period to the end of the 7th century BC, while another group of objects (Arjan II, mamely: the funerary architecture of the tomb itself, the bonze chalices, the tall jar, the lamp, and possibly the cotton garments[391]) do belong to the actual burial period of Kiddin-Hutran that is, the first half of the 6th century BC.

It will be the goal of the next chapter to expand our inquiries regarding a Neo-Elamite artistic renaissance and to integrate the information we have gathered regarding the Arjan tomb and its related funerary materials into the historical context. I will attempt to determine the historical circumstances in which this apparently disparate material converged in Arjan. Once the historical context is established, I will define a chronological frame for the Arjan tomb, identifying those features which are critical in articulating an artistic outlook of the late Elamite Empire.

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[390] Given the state of preservation of the dagger it is not possible to tell whether or not it had an inscription as well.

[391] At this point I see no evidence to believe these personal garments did not belong to Kiddin-Hutran.

PART III.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE ARJAN TOMB

NEO-ELAMITE HISTORY ACCORDING TO FOREIGN SOURCES

A review of the sources we rely on for the reconstruction of the Neo-Elamite period reveals a number of serious problems having to do with the nature and interpretation of the evidence (see Vallat 1996b, Waters 2000 and Henkelman 2003a). A tripartite division of the Elamite period has been proposed by most scholars. Yet, lack of reliable sources make the earliest part of the period practically unknown; The reconstruction of the Neo-Elamite II period relies heavily on Assyrian textual evidence while the Neo-Elamite III period is reconstructed after a number of dissected Elamite textual sources.

The aim of Part III is to contextually integrate our previous understanding of the Arjan material by reviewing most available textual and archaeological evidence pertaining to the Neo-elamite period II and III periods from foreign (Mesopotamian) and native (Elamite) points of view. Non-native sources will be discussed first because most of them predate Elamite textual sources. Non-native sources for the reconstruction of Neo-Elamite history have been discussed in detail by Gerardi (1987) and lately by Waters (2000).[392] For the most part, these sources provide a view of the political and military history of Assyria and Babylonia covering only about a fifth of the Neo-Elamite period (c. 747-643 BC). Here these sources will be complimented by the relative evidence provided by the Hebrew Bible, and reviews of both the role of pastoral nomadism and equestrian cultures on the Elamite period.

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[392] Assyrian textual sources are divided into Annals, Royal Correspondence, stone reliefs and associated texts; Babylonian textual sources are provided by the Babylonian Chronicles. For a review of M. Waters see Henkelman (2000); For a substantial review of sources corresponding to this period see frame 1992 and the excellent summary of J.A. Brinkman 1984, Part VIII, Notes on Sources.

III.1. ASSYRIA AND ELAM

The political and military history of Assyrian relations with Elam can be divided into three parts: the period before ca. 681 BC, the monarchy of Esarhaddon (681-669), and that of Assurbanipal (668-627).

From a geopolitical standpoint, the eighth and seventh centuries BC were characterized by unremitting clashes between the imperial aspirations of the Neo-Assyrian rulers and the resistance of their neighbors.[393] From 814 BC, the earliest date of an Elamite-Kassite-Aramean-Chaldean-Babylonian alliance against Assyria until ca. 650 BC the Elamites played a major role in the political fortunes of Babylonia, Assyria, and in the Zagros Mountains. There is little doubt that, for almost a century (throughout the 8th century BC and until the mid 7th seventh century BC) Elam was one of the most powerful enemies of Assyria. Elam's own imperial aspirations relied on a number of political alliances with close and distant neighbors (Chaldeans, Arameans, the Ellipi kingdom, Babylonians, and Zagros mountain entities such as the Ellipi, Parsuas, Pašeru, Anšan, and perhaps Urartu) to keep Assyria out of Elam's various backyards.

Both Assyria and Elam shared strategic interest in the Zagros and in Lower Mesopotamia.[394] The texts describing the Neo-Assyrian campaigns in Elam mention the large number of Elamite "[royal] cities" and towns found along the border.[395] For instance, during the seventh campaign of Sennacherib in 693 no less than thirty five towns were taken by Assyrian troops (Luckenbill 1927: §248) and during the 647-647 BC campaign of Assurbanipal in Elam more than 59 towns were taken (Miroschedji 1999: 66). Some of these towns are represented in the Assyrian stone reliefs as fortified cities encircled by solid city walls[396] (Miroschedji 1990: 67, n. 21). One of the main Neo-Elamite cities, Madaktu, is represented in the fork of two rivers and surrounded by a small wall (Miroschedji 1986: 211).[397]

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[393] For an in-depth review of the textual evidence pertaining to Elam see Potts (1999), Waters (2000) and review of Waters by Henkelman (2000).

[394] The Elamite campaign of 707 took place in the northwestern border kingdom of Ellipi. During this campaign it is reported the Elamite king had to negotiate with the ruler of Parsumaš in order to get additional troops. See Fuchs and Parpola (2001: 33).

By ca. 674 BC a peace treaty was brokered between the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (681-669) and the Elamite king Urtak (675-664).[398] Peaceful relations sometimes characterized as cordial ensued during this time, which included the first years of Assurbanipal's reign a serious food crisis affected Elam, Assyria sent grain to Elam and allowed Elamite refugees to settle in Assyria (Brinkman 1984: 79, nt. 382; Gerardi 1987: 12-13; Potts 1999: 275). In 664 BC Urtak died after an attempted attack on Babylon. A challenger to the House of Urtak named Te-Uman in the Assyrian Annals (perhaps Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak?[399]). Te-Uman was apparently unrelated to the royal Houses of Urtak or his predecessor Humban-haltaš II. According to Assurbanipal's inscriptions this incident caused a large contingent of Elamite princes and nobles to seek refuge in Assyria.[400] Accordingly, 'Ummanigaš, Ummanappa, Tammaritu, the sons of Urtak, king of Elam (and) Kudurru (and) Paru sons of Ummanaldaš, brother of Urtak, king of Elam', along with 'sixty of the royal family, countless bowmen, free Elamites' (Millard 1964: 19; Streck 1916/II: 109 in Potts 1999: 276-277). In 653 BC Te-Uman (663-653 BC) lost his head in the Ulai river battlefield. Assurbanipal installed the pro-Assyrian Humpan-nikash II in the Elamite throne as king of Elam, and his brother Attamet as viceroy or king of Susa. A third kingdom was created in the city of Hidalu for a third brother, Tammaritu II.

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[395] The Assyrian annals report that in 645 the inhabitant of the Elamite towns located at the Zagros piedmont are mainly of Aramean descent,--Miroschedji's country of Rashi (Miroschedji 1990: 67).

[396] For Bit Imbi see Frankfort (1970: fig. 207). For Hamanu see Frankfort (1970: fig. 206 and Barnett 1976: pl. XVI-XXI, XLVI); For Madaktu see Frankfort (1970: fig. 205), Frankel & Searight (1971), and Miroschedji (1986: fig. 2). For Din Sharri see Barnett (1976: pl. XLVII).

[397] The city of Hidalu is treated extensively in Part II. The identification of Madaktu with Tepe Patak (presented by Rawlinson and followed by de Mecquenem and de Miroschedji. See Potts 1999a: 20, nt. 31) has been questioned by Córdoba (Córdoba 1997) and challenged by Potts and others (see Potts 1999a: 13, nt 3 and pg. 22). Accordingly, the site must probably lie north of Susa, between the Karkhe (Ulaya/Eulaios) and the Diz (Idide/Coprates) rivers. A more precise location must wait further research (Potts 1999a: 25).

[398] The reading Surtaku instead of Urtak/Urtaki/Urtaku/Urtagu/Urtagi has been suggested by E. Quintana (1994: 88). Quintana identifies Surtaku with Shutruk-nahunte II, son of Humbannimena. I shall be using the reading Urtak instead of Surtaku to avoid confusion, since thsi reading remains the most commonly used in the literature so far. For Elamite Urtagu see Zadok (1976a: 63, in Potts 1999: 275). Another Urtak is identified as an in-law of Te-Uman and was immortalized in Neo-Assyrian reliefs wounded by an arrow during the battle of Til-Tuba (Barnett, Bleibtreu, Turner 2000: 95, inscription on slab 2). For more on the name Urtak see Brinkman (1984: 79, nt. 381).

A year later, the Assyrian civil war broke out between Shamaš-šum-ukin and his brother Assurbanipal.[401] The Elamite king Huban-nugash broke his oath of allegiance and sided with Shamaš-šum-ukin. Another anti-Assurbanipal alliance was made in the city of Hidalu between Huban-nugash, his brother Tammaritu II, and the people of the land of Parsuaš. It took three years and a devastating civil war for the Assyrian king Assurbanipal to defeat Elam again. In 647 BC the Assyrian army returned to Elam this time to lay siege to the city of Madaktu and to ravage Susa. The destruction of Susa by Assurbanipal has long been considered the *coup-de-grace* marking the collapse of Elam as a unified Empire. Thereafter, the Elamite territory seems to have reorganized along multiple centers of power based in the cities of Susa, Madaktu,[402] and Hidalu.

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[399] A view not shared by F. Vallat (1995a) but supported by Potts (1999: 276) who follows Stolper and Carter (1984: 50) and Malbran-Labat (1995: 138-140).

[400] Other Elamite leaders remained in Elam: Ištar-nandi (Shutruk-Nahhunte) king of Hidalu, and Umbakidinu (Humban-Kidin) (Potts 1999: 276).

[401] See Brinkman (1984: 93-104). For a good summary of the period see Waters 1999: (99-107) and Waters (2000) as well as the reconstitution of events portrayed in Neo-Assyrian palace inscriptions and reliefs by Russell (1999).

Records pertaining to the deportations of conquered populations by the Assyrians[403] provide another glimpse of the relationships between the Assyrians and the Elamites. According to the Hebrew Bible, Assurbanipal deported Babylonians (citizens of Uruk, Babylon and possibly Sippar) and Elamites (citizens of Susa) and settled them "in the cities of Samaria and in the rest of the province beyond the River (Ezra 4:9-10 *NASB*). This should have taken place after he conquered the land of Elam and destroyed its capital Susa in 647-646 BC (Na'aman 1993: 116; Reade 2000). According to this account, it is evident that a sizable part of the population of Samaria would have been of Elamite origin. Interestingly, to date, there is no evidence of the presence of deportees from Elam detected in the archaeological record (see Na'aman 1993: 118).[404] It is thus notablee that Biblical literary references to Elam[405] have been associated with the presence of Jewish populations (from Judea) in Elam deported to

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[402] For the location of Madaktu see Potts (1999b: 13-28).

[403] The removal of the elites and of a select part of the population from their territory was carried out as a political tool. The mountains offered so many possibilities for local resistance that it would have been impossible to affect the full-scale, efficacious deportation of the population (Lanfranchi 2003: 107).

[404] Under Sargon II (721-705 BC) the deportees from the capture of Samaria were settled in Halah (a district north of Nineveh), and on the Habur, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes (Na'aman 1993: 107). According to 2 Kings 17:24 people form Babylonia, Cutha, Avva (in the river Uqnu, near the Babylonian-Elamite border), Hamath (probably not far from Avva), and Sepharvaim (probably a settlement in the Chaldean territory), were placed in the cities of Samaria. In ca. 716 BC Iranians and/or pre-Iranians were transferred and settled near the Brook of Egypt (the Besor river) and some groups were settled in Tell Jemmeh, the main Assyrian center on the border with Egypt. (Na'amaN 1993: 109). The deportees to Ashod (712 BC) probably came from the Iranian plateau, where Sargon had conducted several campaigns in previous years.

[405] The book of Genesis and the Biblical Prophets Isaiah, Daniel, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel make reference to Elam as one of the great political powers of the seventh and sixth centuries BC

Susa and Babylon after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 587/586 BC (for a continuing discussion see below *Elam and The Hebrew Bible*).

The Assyrian geopolitical strategy in the Zagros has been the focus of recent scholarship. A number of theories have been put forward to explain why the Assyrians invaded the Zagros. This expansion appears to have taken place in two stages. First, Assurnasirpal II invaded and annexed various Zagros mountain valleys to the Assyrian territory. His justification was the construction of a wall by a local Zagros ruler (Lanfranchi 2003: 81). The second stage lasted from Tiglath-pileser III to the time of Sargon. In this period the Assyrians annexed more territory and created four provinces: Parsua, Bīt-Hamban, Kishessim, and Hanhar.[406] Only during the third expedition did the Assyrians establish a permanent presence in the occupied areas.

One hypothesis suggests that the motivation behind the Assyrian land-grab was primarily due to economic interests (Greco 2003). According to Greco, demographic pressures in the Assyrian heartland forced the expansion of the Assyrian-bound transhumant shepherds into new pasture lands. This expansion was supported by the presence of Assyrian troops. Their presence made the fate of the Zagros shepherds very much dependent on their surrendering to and collaboration with the Assyrians.[407] Yet, the detailed knowledge of the territory possessed by the shepherds gave them the advantage in terms of moving away from Assyrian reach (Greco 2003: 78). The need for horses is also invoked as a reason for the invasion (Reade 2003). Conversely, Lanfranchi believes, the motivation for Assyrian annexation of parts of the Zagros and their populations into their empire is not related to economic needs since no resource in the Zagros could compensate for the heavy cost of maintaining an occupying force and administrating the conquered territory. Rather, the cause of the Assyrian invasion of the Zagros had to do with a geo-political strategy which made occupation an absolute necessity. According to Lanfranchi, the annexation of Zagros territory preceded battlefield confrontation with its major military powers (Urartu and Elam). Thus "the most urgent need was to maintain military superiority by securing military aid and supply of horses from new allies and, thereby, subtracting this aid from the enemy" (Lanfranchi 2003: 99). The fragmentary character of the Zagros enhanced the possibility for continuous shifts in loyalties and alliances. In sum, removing the Zagros elites, especially the Median elites, from Urartian and Elamite reach was the main eastern geopolitical strategy of the Assyrian empire (Lanfranchi 2003: 104).[408]

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[406] For the location of these provinces see Lanfranchi 2003: 16, 17).

[407] The pastoral phenomenon must be traced back to the transhumance pastoral model in agreement with Rowton's "enclosed nomadism" model (Rowton in Greco 2003: 69).

The Zagros ruling elites were bound to the Assyrian imperial structure through the stipulation of the *adê*, the oath of loyalty to the Assyrian king which was imposed on all Assyrian subjects (Parpola-Watanabe 1988). The adoption of the Assyrian models by the Zagros elites[409] is posited by Lanfranchi as a logical consequence of this relationship (Lanfranchi 2003: 117). To be sure, this degree of compliance was only possible as the quality of the formal and official position of the Zagros elites was maintained unchallenged. Since, according to this theory, Elam challenged the Assyrians for political control of the Zagros elites, it may be suggested that parallel cultural interchanges between Zagros and Elamite elites may have existed as well and, consequently, these interactions should be reflected in the archaeological record.

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[408] Ideologically, the Assyrians maintained a series of judgmental negative stereotypes about their Eastern mountain-dwelling neighbors. These prejudices are characteristic of the literate and urban Mesopotamian societies. From the point of view of the Assyrians, the primitive and mobile aspect of the Zagros populations implied ambush, theft, and the impossibility of strict control which practically implied total impunity from Assyrian reprisal (Lanfranchi 2003: 89).

[409] As regards to the royal attire, the royal protocol and generally the customs, and even the various luxury paraphernalia of the imperial Assyrian elites

Ten years after the campaign against Elam and the destruction of Susa (647-646 B.C) a rapid decline of the Assyrian empire began. The final stage of this decline was the capture of Assur in 614 BC, Nineveh in 612 BC, and Harran in 610 BC. By 609 BC the Assyrian Empire ceased to exist. The destruction of Nineveh, just about thirty-one years after the destruction of the Elamite capital, provides a glimpse of the perhaps final stage in the relationships between the two archenemies.

According to the Babylonian Chronicles, Nineveh was captured by the allied Median and Babylonian armies.[410] It is surprising that the Elamites are not recorded as having taken part in the sacking and destruction of Nineveh, even more so when we consider that the sack and brutal destruction of Susa, which lasted one month and twenty-five days (at least according to the Assyrian account[411]), may have been fresh in memory. In this regard, one piece of indirect evidence has been cited for the participation of Elamites in the destruction of Nineveh. According to C. Nylander it is clear that during the fall of Nineveh "some of the conquerors took the pains to mutilate the faces of Assyrian kings and other select personages" (Reade 1976, Nylander 1980: 331). This is attested in the sculptures of the Southwest Palace of

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[410] An on-going lively debate pertains to the identity and motivations of the destroyers of Nineveh. According to J. Reade "the Medes who destroyed Assur and took Nineveh were not the large army of a powerful, great Median kingdom which had developed from the unification of the many small Zagros polities governed by their local 'city lords'. A kingdom which seems not to be attested by any specific source, but that may have been one of the major components of the Assyrian army which, perhaps convinced by abundant Babylonian money rebelled against their Assyrian king" (in Lanfranchi 2003: 117). Nineveh was taken and sacked by Babylonian troops acting in concert with Median troops (Lanfranchi 2003: 118; see Grayson 1975a: 94, 41-43).

[411] Editions F (iv 67 – v 71) and A (v 126 – vi 106) relate the celebrated sack of Susa (BIWA 52-56). The annals give the impression of complete annihilation, but Susa was hardly erased from the earth. In fact, it ultimately survived Nineveh.

Sennacherib, room XXXIII, where the Assyrian face of the murderer of the Elamite king Te-Uman as well as the that of the Assyrian appointed puppet king Ummanigash were singled out and mutilated (Nineveh relief BM 124801, Reade1976: 105).[412] Nylander has also suggested Elamite retribution in the defacing and mutilation of Assurbanipal's banquet scene (BM 124920).[413] It would be reasonable to conclude that at least some Elamites may have participated in the destruction of Nineveh, even though there is not a single text to corroborate this statement.[414]

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[412] Compare Nylander's elaboration of specific iconoclasm (the mutilation of the head of an unknown Akkadian ruler) from Nineveh (Nylander 1980: 329-332).

[413] Accordingly, the formula "king+cup+ vine", which finds parallels in Elamite glyptic, provoked Elamite iconoclasm (Nylander 1990).

[414] Unless the so called "Nineveh-letters" are indeed from Kuyunjik (see Henkelman 2003: 199; Vallat 1998b; and Reade 2000 for the most recent debate about the origin of these letters). If so, they would attest the presence of Elamites in Nineveh after the sack of the city (see section I.7.2. *Nineveh Letters in Neo-Elamite Texts*).

III.2. BABYLONIA AND ELAM

From 814 BC, the earliest date of Elamite-Babylonian alliance against Assyria, until ca. 650 BC the Elamites played a major role in the political fortunes of Babylonia. Sources from the Assyrian Annals and Babylonian Chronicles give a detailed account of the Assyrian effort to control lower Mesopotamia and the continuous opposition of Elam. A short summary of these events focusing on the Babylonian-Elamite points of interaction is relevant here.[415]

The fragmentation of Babylonian political power along weak central government, semi-independent cities, and powerful tribes controlling substantial portions of the hinterland invited the continuous intervention of both Assyria and Elam in Babylonian internal affairs.[416] Internally, the Babylonian cities and various tribal groups appear to have maintained their own independent alliances with one or other of the foreign power. At the end of the 8th century BC the inhabitants of Babylonia comprised the older "Babylonian" native stock (a mixture of descendants of Sumerians, Akkadians and assimilated later immigrants such as Amorites and Kassites) and the more recently arrived Aramean and Chaldean populations. The "Babylonian natives" formed the majority of the urban population residing in the northwest alluvium (Sippar, Babylon, Borsippa, Dilbat, and Nippur) and in the southwest (especially at Uruk and Ur). The two major tribal groups, the Arameans and the

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[415] This review is based on the works of Brinkman (1984) and Waters (2000).

[416] It is important to note that since the Kassite period and until the time of Nabonidus there was no single term to express 'Babylonia' as a unit. Instead, terms such as Akkad, Sumer, the Sealand, and Chaldea were used to designate different parts of lower Mesopotamia (Brinkman 1984: 16, n. 62).

Chaldeans, were of West Semitic origin.[417] The Arameans had been migrating to lower Mesopotamia since the 11th century BC. They occupied a territory along the Tigris and its tributaries, and across the northern end of the alluvium, around Nippur. The Chaldeans arrived later, settling along fortified towns and villages along the course of the Euphrates (Brinkman 1984: 11-13). Generally speaking, the old urban Babylonian elites living in centers in the north and southwest[418] tended to ally with the Assyrians while the Aramean[419] and Chaldean[420] tribes sought the help of Elam. Brinkman has articulated a complex network of interconnections between Elam and Babylonia (Brinkman 1984). Geographical proximity and a porous border fostered the mingling of populations and goods as well as common political and religious interests (Brinkman 1986: 199). These relations were not just with the Aramean and Chaldean tribes but involved the Elamites and Arab tribes (Brinkman 1984: 27).[421]

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[417] The Chaldean tribes are first known from the Assyrian royal inscriptions of the 9th century BC and the Arameans from those of the 8th century B. C. Moritz was the first one to suggest the arrival in Babylonia of these first century new comers from the Arabian dessert. Albright asserted the Chaldeans reached southern Babylonia from East Arabia in the 10th – 9th centuries BC, carrying with them the South Arabian script of that period. They advanced along the Persian Gulf, settling first in the area known as Bit Yakin. From there they expanded in a northwestern direction all over the plateau, gaining control in time of the ancient cities of Babylonia. (Eph'al 1974: 108-110)

[418] Some urban centers such as Nippur and Babylon were famous for their cosmopolitan, pluralistic society, which included foreigners as well as tribal residents (Brinkman 1984: 18).

[419] The Arameans had few towns. Most of them were connected with the Gambulu and were located in eastern Babylonia (Brinkman 1984: n. 52). The Gambulu and the Puqudu were the most powerful groups in the land. For the impact of the Aramean language in Mesopotamia see Brinkman (1984: 14, n. 15).

[420] The main Chaldean tribes and their locations were: the Bit-Amukani, on the lower Euphrates river above Uruk; the Bit-Dakkuri, on the central Euphrates; the Bit-Yakin, dominating the land around Ur and the marches or the 'Sealand' (Brinkman 1984: 15). The Chaldeans integrated progressively into urban Babylonian culture and by ca. 765 Babylonia had its first king of Chaldean origin (Brinkman 1984: n. 61).

[421] Among the enemy chieftains who were captured by Sennacherib there was Basqanu, the brother of Yati'e queen of the Arabs (the first occurrence of the Arabs as an ethnic element in Assyrian sources *lú A-ri-bi*). The account of Sennacherib's first campaign against the Chaldeans lists 81 walled towns in Southern Babylonia conquered and looted by the Assyrian army, together with 820 minor settlements within their borders. Some of the

There are no precedents for Babylonian-Elamite relations prior to the end of the 9th century BC. Around 814 BC the Assyrian king Šamši-Adad V (823-811) fought Elamite troops assisting the Babylonian king Marduk-balâssu-iqbi (Waters 2000: 11).[422] Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian sources present conflicting views about the role Elam played in their affairs. During the time of Sargon the Babylonian Chronicle reports that the Elamite king Huban-nikash (743-717) defeated the Assyrian king at the battle of Dêr (720 BC) while Sargon reports victory over Huban-nikash (Waters 2000: 14). In 703 BC Merodach-Baladan reclaimed the Babylonian throne. The Elamite contingent played the major role at the battle of Kish indicating Elam's preeminent role in this struggle against Assyria. According to the Assyrian sources, after some initial difficulty, Sennacherib defeated the Elamite-Babylonian forces. He then advanced and took Babylon itself. This account is again contradicted by a passage in the Babylonian Chronicle: "He (Sennacherib) did not scatter the Babylonians" (Grayson 2000: 77, 19).

In 694 BC Sennacherib moved against the Bit-Yakin refugees in Elam. The Chaldeans, Elamites, and their goods were taken as plunder. At about the same time the Elamite king Hallušu made a bold move and sent the Elamite troops to Sippar capturing Sennacherib's son Ashur-nâdin-šumi and blocking the Assyrian army in the south. Elam was now active within Babylon itself rather than operating along the border. Between 694 BC and 693 BC Assyria faced a major threat to the suzerainty in Babylonia. Again Elam played a crucial role. The central event of the Elamite king Huban-menanu's reign, according to Mesopotamian sources, was the battle of Halulê which took place in 691 BC More relevant than the disputed outcome of the battle

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toponyms refer to the ethnic origin of their populations and connect them to Arab populations living in walled towns and surrounded by minor settlements (Eph'al 1974: 111).

[422] Elamite bowmen are found serving the Assyrians as well as the Babylonians (see Dalley and Postgate 1984: 145: 13, iv; Brinkman 1984: 29).

itself is the fact that Huban-menanu was able to assemble an impressive coalition of international forces against the Assyrians. Elamites were joined by Iranians (Parsuas, Anshan, Pašeru), Ellipeans, Chaldeans, Arameans and the Babylonians. Once again, in the battle of Halulê (691 BC) the Babylonian Chronicle ascribes the victory to the Elamites while Sennacherib's accounts claim victory for the Assyrian side (Grayson 2000: 80, 18). There is little doubt that until the peace treaty between the Elamite king Urtak and the Assyrian king Esarhaddon in ca. 674 BC, Elam effectively challenged Assyrian imperial aspirations over Babylonia and the Zagros.

In 652 BC the Assyrian civil war broke out between the supporters of Shamaš-šum-ukin and his brother, Assurbanipal. Edition B of Assurbanipal's annals credits the involvement of the Elamite king Huban-nikash II (653-652 BC) in the rebellion to a payment from Shamaš-šum-ukin. Six years latter Assurbanipal destroyed Susa. Indications of Babylonian relations with its eastern neighbor after 626 BC, when Nabopolasar was proclaimed 'king of Babylon', are few and even these are debatable. The Neo-Babylonian Chronicle 2 states that Nabopolasar (625-605 BC) in his accession year returned "the gods of Susa whom the Assyrians had carried off and deposited in Uruk" (BM 25127, Grayson 1975b: Chronicles 88II, 16-17; Cogan 1974: 25; Grayson 2000: 88, 16-17). Although Nabopolasar's statement is open to interpretation it provides evidence for a positive diplomatic gesture towards Elam (see Potts 1999: 289). Furthermore it implies that if the Elamite gods could be repatriated to Susa in 626 BC it is because sanctuaries and cults were been restored. Consequently, plans must have been undertaken for the reconstruction of the Elamite sanctuaries, which should be understood as indication of the presence of an Elamite political power at Susa (Amiet 1973b: 24; de Miroschedji 1982: 62; Carter and Stolper 1984: 53).

Between 625 BC, when Nabopolassar returned its exiled gods to Susa, and c. 540 BC the weak rule of Nabonidus appears to have invited a new threat from the east (Wiseman 1956: 36). The Chronicle records a confrontation between Nebuchadnezzar II, called king of Akkad, and the king of another place, the name of which is missing. The entry is dated to the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar II (596 BC) and the scene was the bank of the Tigris. The opposing king fled in fear before battle was joined. The translation of the text in question is by Wiseman (1956) with recent amendments by Grayson (2000):[423]

Rev.

16. In the nin[th year, the month of ….., the king of] Akkad and his troops [marched along] the bank of the Tigris [….]

17. the king of El[am?.........]

(but Grayson's: the king of […]…[…]).[424]

18. the king of Akkad [……]

19. which is on the bank of the Tigris he pitched his camp. (While there was still) a distance of one day ('s march) between them,

20. the king of El[am] was afraid and, panic falling on him, he returned to his own land. (*but Grayson's: [The k]ing of E[lam] took fright and fear overcame him so he we[nt] home).*[425]

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[423] The translation is by Wiseman (1956: 73) with an added comparative reading by Grayson (2000); Chronicle 5, Tablet BM 21946.

[424] Line 17: *šàr (māt) e[lamti (KI)??.........i]l-mu-ú [……].*

[425] Line 20: *[š]àr (māt) el[am]ti (KI) ip-làh-ma hat-tú imtaqut-su-ma ana māti-šú i-tu[r(ra)].* Lines 17 and 20 are badly preserved. In line 20 the reading "King of Elam" is a plausible restoration.

Some authors have advanced the possibility that part of Elam was under Babylonian control from this time onwards (Zadok 1976: 61).[426] Several scattered texts found in Susa have been cited as evidence for Babylonian control of Susa. Also, some bricks stamped with Nebuchadnezzar's name were used in the construction of various temples found at Susa. Similar blocks have been found in Persepolis as well.[427]

Further evidence of Elamite-Babylonian relationships at this time is provided by the presence of Elamites in Babylonia. No less than 713 Elamites had oil rations assigned to them in a ration list found in Babylon and dated 592-591 BC. However, the only two Elamites designated by name in the ration-list bore Iranian-type names.[428] A second document from 541-540 BC mentions eight persons, three are Elamite, three others contain at least one Elamite element, one is perhaps Elamite and two may not be Elamite (Zadok 1976: 63). Zadok summarizes the evidence contained in these two documents by stating that "a sizable immigration of Elamites into Babylonia occurred right through the first half of the sixth century BC (Zadok 1976: 64). [429] In sum, the evidence is not compelling for making Elam part of the Neo-Babylonian Empire.

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[426] The Cyrus Cylinder mentions Susa among the cities to which Cyrus returned the gods and the citizens deported during the Babylonian rule (Zadok 1976: 61).

[427] See Potts (1999: 291) for a review of the main arguments.

[428] The name Marza maybe genuine Elamite (Zadok 1976: 62).

[429] Aramean populations living in the Elamite-Babylonia border were influenced by Elamite culture. The Awwites, who were probably West Semites, worshipped Elamite gods and some were bearers of hybrid Arameo-Elamite names such as the son of a leader of the Gambulu tribe Shama'gunu, offspring of Agunu (Zadok 1976: nt. 6, pg. 62). For the Elamite deity Agunu see Genouillac (1905: RT 27).

III.3. THE HEBREW BIBLE AND ELAM

The Biblical passages mentioning Elam should be used with much caution given both, the difficulty in determining when the references to Elam were written and their context. Yet, the fact the book of Genesis and the biblical Prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, make explicit reference to Elam all cannot be dismissed beforehand. The overarching international political background that forms the historical context behind the main referneces was the struggle between the main powers, Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia, and Canaanites and Israelites and the ensuing Babylonian Exile of the Judaites.[430] Also we have seen, Assurbanipal deported Babylonians from Uruk, Babylon and possibly Sippar, and Elamites from Susa and settled them in Samaria probably after he conquered Susa in 647-646 BC (Na'aman 1993: 116; Reade 2000).

The presence in Genesis of an Elamite king by the name of Chedor-Laomer in Genesis 14 cannot be easily elucidated. The name Chedor-Laomer has been traced to the Elamite Kutir-Lakamar[431] (Hinz 1971: 666) and to the Babylonian Kudar-Lagar[mar] alias Lagamaru (Scheil 1896: 600-601).[432] The mysterious passage states: "for twelve years they (the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela/Zoar) had been under the yoke of Chedor-Laomer, but in the thirteenth year they revolted" (Gen 14: 4). In the fourteenth year, the text proceeds, the king of Elam arrived with a coalition of three other kings.[433] In the process, the conquerors defeated the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, seized all their possessions and captured Lot (the nephew of Abraham). Abraham mustered his forces, confronted and defeated the Elamite king and his allies as far as Hobah, north of Damascus, and rescued Lot and all the stolen possessions. Genesis 14 is generally understood in the broader context provided by the narrative genealogy in the table of nations (Gen 11) and its attempt to present a linear account out of a heterogeneous collection of material. This account appears to be the work of a post-Exilic writer of Genesis whose concern here was to trace the ancestry of the Hebrews within the broader framework of the foreign peoples the author was familiar with (Redford 1992: 403, 408). The mentioning of a specific Elamite king is obviously a very contrived account intended to aggrandize Abraham. Nothing whatsoever seems to support such historical reality, yet how to explain the choice of a mighty Elamite king campaigning in the Levant? One may perhaps suggest that this tale of a powerful enemy coalition under the orders of an Elamite king might have echoed powerfully to a Jewish audience living in the post-Exilic times somewhere in Babylonia or western Elam. At the same time, the fact that the author of this tale was familiar with the Elamites as a powerful nation follows a topic echoed in Ezekiel, Jeremiah and Isaiah.[434]

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[430] A number of dates are of relevance here: the battle of Megiddo in 609 BC; a rebellion in Babylonian is placed in 594 BC In 593 an anti-Babylonian conference took place in Jerusalem; the second siege and final destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 587/586 BC and the ensuing deportation of the Jews to Babylon (Babylonian Exile 587-540 BC). "Much of the material now found in the Pentateuch, the Deteuronomic History (Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings), as well as many of the pre-exilic prophets and Psalms, was first composed during the Iron II c period (722-540 BC)" (Laughlin 2000: 153).

[431] Kutir-Lakamar is a good Elamite name. Lakamar was an Elamite goddess going back on time at least to the Middle Elamite period (Hinz 1971: 666, nt. 4)

[432] It is unclear what is the relationship between the Ku-dur-la-uh-ga-mar mentioned in an Old Babylonian tablet from Larsa—which makes him a contemporary of Rim-sin of Larsa, Shamshi-Adad and Hammurapi— and the Biblical reference.

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[433] "And the king of Sodom and the king of Gomorrah and the king of Admah and the king of Zeboiim and the king of Bela (that is, Zoar) came out; and they arrayed for battle against them in the valley of Siddim, against Chedorlaomer king of Elam and Tidal king of Goiim and Amraphel king of Shinar and Arioch king of Ellasar –four kings against five" (Gen 14: 8-9).

[434] The Book of Daniel records a metaphysical vision that took place in the city of Susa (Daniel 8). According to the *Oxford Companion to the Bible*, the final canonical form of the book of Daniel dates to c. 164 BC (Towner 1993: 151-152) yet the languages and loan-words suggest a composition largely of the 5th century BC (Mitchell 1997: 74), although other authors

Ezekiel 32:24 prophesies the demise of Elam[435] using the language of doom applied to various other foreign nations. The prophet Ezekiel was also deported to Babylonia; his career covering the period from 593 to at least 571 BC. The Prophet Jeremiah was a staunch supporter of the Babylonians and witness to both sieges of the city of Jerusalem (597 and 586 BC). After the assassination of Gedaliah he was carried off to Egypt. Parts of the book by the name of Jeremiah relates to his correspondence with the Babylonian Exiles (Jer 43-44). In particular, Jeremiah 46: 3-12; 46:13-26; 47: 2-7; 49: 1-39 includes a series of oracles directed against a selective group of political powers of the period (Egypt, Philistine cities, the Kingdoms of Hazor, Elam, Moab, Ammon, Edom and Damascus). It is Apocalyptic language at its best (Jer 49:35-39):

> Thus says the lord of hosts, Behold, I am going to break the bow of Elam, the finest of their might. I will bring upon Elam the four winds from the four ends of heaven, and will scatter them to all these winds; and there will be no nation to which the outcasts of Elam will not go. So I will shatter Elam before their enemies and before those who seek their lives; and I will bring calamity upon them, even my fierce anger, declares the Lord, and I will send out the sword after them until I have set my throne in Elam and destroy out of it king and princes, declares the Lord. But it will come about in the last days that I will restore the fortunes of Elam, declares the Lord.

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believe the events described as pertaining to Nebuchadnezzar are merely cryptic references to the Seleucian king Antiochus Epiphanes (Sandmel 1978: 227).

[435] "Elam is there and all her hordes around her grave; all of them slain, fallen by the sword, who went down uncircumcised to the lower parts of the earth, who instilled their terror in the land of the living...

Jeremiah 49: 35-38 is dated ca. 596 BC[436] that is, just after the first Babylonian attack of Jerusalem in 597 BC and the presumed attack of Babylonia in 596/5 BC by an eastern power.[437] In addition, Vanderhooft has suggested that Jer 50:2-51:38, "did not originate with the prophet, but more likely date to the late exilic era" further suggesting that the anti-Babylonian oracles in Jeremiah 50-51 bear direct reference to the fall of Babylon in 539 *to the Persians* (my italics) (Vanderhooft 1999: 202).

In the Book of Isaiah Elam is mentioned as one of the lands where the scattered people of Judah live (Is. 11:11).[438] Isaiah himself may have lived during the last part of the 8th century BC but the bulk of the book appears to have been composed in the last part of the 7th century BC (Sawyer 1993: 327-8);[439] In Isaiah 21 Elam, together with Media, is represented as the political world powers empowered by Yahweh to destroy Babylon.

According to Zawadzki, an understanding of the historical context of Jeremiah's oracle appears to depend on the ability to establish the nature of the crisis relationship between Babylonia and Media which has to be located between 597 and 594 BC (Zawadzki 1988: 138). Funck has shown that the years 597-595 witnessed a rapid and unparalleled increase in the cost of grain products. The increase in prices may be explained by the internal rebellion which took place in 595 BC or, as Zawadzki assumes, by an outside threat (Zawadzki 1988: 139) such as that posed by the presumed Elamite attack of 596/5 BC. Accordingly, Jeremiah's account of the doom of Elam (and the prediction of the restoration of its fortunes) and Isaiah's Elamite-Median alliance could be a reflection of the wishes of the anti-Babylonian position. A weak Babylon (and a strong Elam) would be seen by those supporting Egyptian rapprochement and revolt against Babylon as evidence of their own prophetic virtue (Malamat 1975). Conversely, some authors have considered the possibility that Isaiah 21 is a prophecy reflecting Babylon's fall to Cyrus II in 539 BC. But according to D. Vanderhooft "such a reading would require the assumption that the writer subsumed the Elamites and Medes within the conquering Persian empire. This is possible but "one wonders whether a Judean writer of the 6th century would have been unaware that the Medes and Persians were actually enemies" (Vanderhooft 1999: 133). Both Media and Elam would have been identified as enemies of Assyria during the late 8th and 7th centuries BC but they were not enemies of Babylonia at least until the sack of Nineveh in 612 BC.

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[436] This date is determined by the reference in v. 34 "In the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah King of Judah" (See Redford 1992: 461 n. 154; Hyatt 1956: 283). Jeremiah himself began his carrier in 627 BC (Yamauchi 2002: 363).

[437] Mentioned in the previous section, *Babylonia and Elam.*

[438] "Then it will happen on that day that the Lord will again recover the second time with his hand the remnant of his people, who will remain from Assyria, Egypt, Pathros, Cush, Elam, Shinar, Hamath, and from the islands of the sea."

[439] Second Isaiah (Isaiah 40-55) is commonly placed in the post-exilic period (see Vanderhooft 1999: 171; Sandmel 1978: 189).

In sum, the Hebrew Bible introduces some puzzling questions as to the status of Elam during the good part of the 6th century BC. These questions can perhaps be summarized on a footnote of caution with regards to the supposed collapse of Elam after the destruction of Susa by Assurbanipal.[440] The Hebrew Bible indicates that Elam continued to play an important geopolitical role during the first part of the sixth century BC. If such was the case, Elam would have recovered from Assurbanipal's campaigns and may have attempted an attack on Babylon, perhaps allied with the Medes. Zawadzki recognizes this possibility and indicates that Elam actually campaigned against Babylonia under the Median flag (Zawadzki 1988: 140). Nonetheless, Zawadzki considers Elam too weak a power for such an accomplishment (for a different view see Henkelman 2003b: 211). Zawadzki's hypothetical scenario suggests that Media, allied with Scythia, Manna, Urartu and Elam planned an attack against the Babylonians but, for unknown reasons, Media and its allies did not follow through. The Elamite army, left alone to face Nebuchadnezzar, turned around and withdrew to their country (Zawadzki 1988: 140). In addition, Zawadzki suggests that the Babylonians were well aware that Media, not Elam, was their main enemy, as evidenced by the construction of the 'Median Wall' by Nebuchadnezzar II (Zawadzki 1988: 140).

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[440] The term "Pyrrhic victory" (pertaining to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who defeated the Romans at too great cost) has been used by some Biblical scholars to describe Assurbanipal' s victory over the Elamite state (Redford 1992: 441; Vanderhooft 1999: 64).

To recapitulate, and make sense of this information, requires a great degree of conjecture. Was the participation of Elam in the destruction of Babylonia just wishful thinking on the part of the Hebrew authors? It appears certain that the Biblical Prophets entertained hopes for the return of the Babylonian Jews to their homeland owing to an attack from Media and Elam; for Isaiah, Yahweh's agents for the destruction of wicked Babylonia are the Medes and Elam. But why include the Elamites if they, as Zawadzki suggests, were under Median dominion? Why then to "break the bow of Elam" and not that of Media? On the other hand, one should consider, as Vanderhooft does, the possibility that this version of the events may have conflated Elam with Persia and that the envisaged 'destruction' of Babylonia was that achieved by Cyrus II in 539 BC?[441] In sum, the Biblical evidence considers Elam as one of the greatest political powers of the time. To be more specific than this and to assume that indeed Elam emerged after the destruction of Nineveh in 612 BC as a political world power requires additional evidence.

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[441] Vanderhooft suggests that Jer 51:32 "the fords have been seized, the bulwarks are burned with fire, and the soldiers are in panic" is an indication that the writer had already witnessed the fall of Babylon to the Persians in 539 BC. Yet, throughout Jeremiah, the conquerors of Babylon are the Medes and the Elamites (Vanderhooft 1999: 202).

III.4. HIGHLAND POPULATIONS AND ELAM

II.4.1. THE KINGDOM OF ELLIPI

During the late Neo-Elamite period, the Pish-i Kuh area of Luristan, which borders northwestern Elam, was known as the Zagros kingdom of Ellipi (Medvedskaya 1994: 63-64).[442] The area of the Luristan Pusht-i Kuh may have corresponded to the "Parnakias" mentioned by Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) together with the Ellipi as dangerous enemies of Assyria (Zadok 1981-82: 135 in Overlaet 2003: 233). During the Assyrian period Ellipi was of key strategic value for both Elam and Assyria. According to the Assyrian texts, Ellipi maintained close relationships with Elam to the point that one wonders whether the high valleys of Luristan were not historically part of the Elamite domain.[443] The war of succession in Ellipi illustrates the nature of the conflict between Assyria and Elam for the control of this strategic kingdom (see Fuchs and Parpola 2001: 29). The war took place in 708-707 BC and opposed two cousins after the death of their uncle Daltâ, king of Ellipi .[444] Daltâ had been sending tribute to Sennacherib[445] but after death the House of Daltâ split in two camps. Nibê sided with the Elamites while the Ašpa-bara sided with the Assyrians (Henkelman 2003b: 197 n. 5). The Assyrians seized the royal city of Marubištu and installed Ašpa-bara as king (although the final defeat of Nibê is not mentioned in the texts (Fush and Parpola 2001: 30). Yet, five years later Ašpa-bara lost favor in the eyes of Sennacherib who attacked Ellipi in 702 and annexed part of its territory into a new Assyrian province.[446] The second case of direct contact between Elam and Ellipi is attested during the participation of Ellipi in the Halulê battle in 691 BC (Fuch-Schmitt 2001). Further relationships between Ellipi and Elam are otherwise attested by the close similarities present in the material culture of southern Luristan[447] and Elam.[448]

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[442] On Ellipi's boundaries see Levine (1974: 104-106), Chamaza (1994: 102) and Medvedskaya (1994: 57-59).

[443] Since the end of the third and beginning of the second millennium, this may have bee the location of an Elamite political entity known as Shimashki (Miroschedji 1990: 51 n. 6). Carter includes these regions as part of the Elamite sphere of influence (Carter 1984: 141 ff., 155, 176-179). During the Old Babylonian period, Elam's territorial strategic interests spread north into northern Mesopotamia (Durand and Charpin 1986) and may have occupied two geographical areas are associated with the homeland of the Kassites, Namri and Bit Hamban. One hypothesis suggested by Herzfeld and shared by Reade is that Namri was located on the Iranian plateau, in the Mahi Dasht, west of Kermansha, including Shahabad. The territory of Bit Hamban may have been in the Bisitum area (as suggested by Herzfeld), possibly overlapping with Namri on the west (Reade 1978: 139). According to Levine however Namri was located not far from east of the Diyala. The territory of Halman, which incorporated modern Sar-I Pul, bordered on Namri (Levine 1973: 1-27).

[444] The role of the king's son ('son of Daltâ', Lutû?) remains a mystery (see Fuchs and Parpola 2001:30)

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[445] "I received the tribute of Daltâ of Ellipi, of the city lords of the country of Namri, of the country of (Bit-) Sanginuti and of the Medes (ma-a-da in 1.12') all (the city lords) of the mountains of the east: horses and mules broken to the yoke, two-humped camels, cattle and sheep without number" (Tadmor 1994: 99, Iran stela IB: 11'-4, referred by Radner 2003: 44).

[446] Sargon formed two Median provinces of Kishessim and Harhar. Harhar was formed out of six "lands." Later Harhar was enlarged by Senacherib, who attached to it a district and some towns taken from Ellipi (Lanfranchi 2003: 109). Sennacherib changed the name of the Ellipi town Elenzash to Kār-Sîn-ahhē-erība (Radner 2003: 51).

[447] The sites of: Sorkh-e Dom and Chigā Sabz (Schmidt-Van Loon-Cuvers 1989: 245-248, 413-453, 490; Van Loon 1988; Carter 1998: 322f), Karkhai in the southern Push-e Kūh (de Miroschedji 1990b: 184). See also the sites of Tepe Gūghan and Tepe Patak in northern Khuzestan (de Miroschedji 1986: 215 and 1990: 60 f.); For Tepe Guran see Thrane 2001. Archaeologically we have also evidence of Iranian influence in the Zagros-Ellipi mountains as attested by the typical Iron Age III wares from Choga Mish (Goff 1968; 1978: 34 f, 42). For the Bakhtiari mountains see Zagarell (1982). The archaeology of Luristan will be treated below, in conjunction with the archaeology of the neo-Elamite period. The Kalmakarreh objects will also be treated below in conjunction with Elamite material culture.

[448] Judging from the Assyrian sculptures, the hairdo and dress of the Ellipians and Elamites apparently looked much the same to their western neighbors (Reade 1976a: 98f. in Henkelman 2003b: 198).

III.4.2. THE MEDES

A discussion of possible Elamite-Median relationships by Henkelman concludes with the following remark: "the hypothesis of an Elamite-Median contact is attractive but very hard to substantiate" (Henkelman 2003: 181). Given the nature of our texts and the political atmosphere of the eighth, seventh and sixth centuries BC it is tempting to think that the need to oppose Assyrian expansion would have bought Elamites and 'Medes' into contact. Yet identifying such contacts is rather difficult (Henkelman 2003: 196). One of the main problems pertains to the ways the Medes have been identified in the literary, archaeological, and artistic record. The polemic about such identification has increased the level of skepticism discouraging scholars to speak of a Median Empire (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988), a Median kingdom or, for that matter, of a distinctive Median identity.[449] A fresh examination of the field of Median studies allows for a new assessment of the evidence and consequently may leave some room to reappraise possible Elamite-Median relations.[450]

When it comes to reporting on the Medes, the contrast between the Assyrian and the Babylonian accounts is striking. According to Liverani, "in Assyrian texts, the Medes appear as a loose set of tribes, presenting no special features as compared to other Zagros tribes, led by local chiefs and devoid of political unity or even coordination...nothing hints at the existence of a royal dynasty whose authority had been accepted by the various tribes" (Liverani 2003: 4). The Babylonian Chronicles present a different picture for the period ca. 615-550 BC Here "the beginning and end of an independent Median kingdom are explicitly recorded" (Liverani 2003: 4). Liverani's main criticism of past views about the Median political organization is that scholarship has persisted in clinging to a view that configures the Median state on the model provided by the Achaemenid Empire. He argues for a new configuration based on the model provided by the Zagros chiefdoms (Liverani 2003: 2). Accordingly, Liverani divides Median history along three phases: (1) "fortified manors" (ca. 750-670 BC), (2) "secondary states" (ca. 670-610 BC) and (3) loose chiefdoms or "pastoral empire" (610-550 BC). The first two phases are characterized by the presence of local chiefs with forts, store houses, and cultic and ceremonial buildings while the common people probably lived in small villages or pastoral camps (Liverani 2003: 5). The Assyrian strategy at this moment consisted in establishing a direct Assyrian presence among the Median elites in order to control the Khorasan Road and to breed horses and Bactrian camels.[451] This co-existence provided political, administrative, economic and ideological models for the Medes and the impetus to effectively transition from a loosely related network of poor pastoral tribes to a wealthy network of chiefdoms. These processes eventually led to a consolidation of the Medes and to the formation of "secondary states" (Liverani 2003: 6). Liverani's third phase, loose chiefdoms or "pastoral empire" (610-550 BC), is otherwise known as the dark age of the Medes. Liverani points to the peaceful abandonment of the manors and ceremonial centers and to the participation of the Medes in the final collapse of the Assyrian empire, without then ocupying Assyria, as demonstrating a lack of evidence for a united

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[449] "The Median Empire exists for us because Herodotus says it did" (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988: 199). The Assyrian sources fail to support Herodotus' point of view (Radner 2003: 37). Radner notes that, in contrast to Assyrian comments about such polities such as Mannea, Elam, and Urartu, Assyrian texts never "hint at the existence" of a 'national' spirit or sense of unity among the Medes (Radner 2003: 63).

[450] I am referring in particular to the 2000 Padova International Conference dedicated to the Continuity of Empire as related to Assyria, Media and Persia.

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[451] Lanfranchi (2003) suggests that the Assyrians were more interested in controlling the human resources.

Median state or empire.[452] Lack of interest by Medes in controlling the Assyrian territory indicates that once the empire collapsed the tribes reverted to a "tribal pastoral confederacy lacking political stability" (Liverani 2003: 8)[453]. Liverani offers this summation, "in the period between 610 and 550 BC the tradition of 'empires' was preserved by Chaldean Babylonia and by Anzan/Persia, while the Zagros area under Median hegemony reverted to a stage of tribal chiefdoms, with no literacy and no administrative tools, the forts and ceremonial buildings of the previous period being dismissed as no longer in line with a new social and political order" (Liverani 2003: 11).

A traditional understanding of the 'Median Dark Age' is upheld by M. Roaf who counters Liveranis's methodology.[454] He asserts that Median Dark Age as described by Liverani was not "one of recession, invasion, poverty, and chaos" (Roaf 2003: 20). Alternatively, the Median rulers acquired considerable wealth from the sacking of Assyria and from subsequent taxing and tribute from the former Assyrian territories in the Zagros. M. Roaf, an obvious supporter of the Median Empire theory, suggests that during the first half of the sixth century BC, the "Medes expanded their rule until they controlled their territory from Anatolia to the borders of Fārs, and from the foothills of the Zagros bordering on Babylonia to some ill-defined region of central or possibly eastern Iran" (Roaf 2003: 21).[455] A more balanced opinion is offered by D.

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[452] According to Reade, the Median behavior during their participation in and after the collapse of the Assyrian cities is compatible with their having been invited or hired by the Babylonians (Reade 2003: 154).

[453] See also Rollinger 2003 and Briant 1984b, 40-41.

[454] Methodologically "absence of evidence need not be interpreted as evidence of absence" (Roaf 2003: 20).

[455] This view does not appear to be based on the evidence at hand. "Neither archaeological investigations nor textual documents have yet provided reliable evidence for the existence of political or economic structures in Media between the end of the Assyrian and the rise of the Achaemenid empire similar to those attested in those empires" (Lanfranchi, Roaf, and Rollinger 2003: 402). Muscarella points out that there is no single work of art that can with

Stronach, which is based on the archaeological evidence[456] and not on methodological interpretations. He postulates an easterly Median presence beyond the "Median triangle."[457] This evidence further stresses the interest of the Median rulers in commanding the control of the main east-west route[458] (Stronach 2003).

Radner's history of the 'Medes' is based on the evidence provided by the Assyrian texts and thus limits itself to an account of Assyrian political history in the Zagros. This history is divided into four main ages or periods; the horse raiding age (835-745 BC); the colonization age (744-713 BC); the symbiosis age (712-656 BC); and the years of silence prior to the Median attack of Assyria (655-616 BC). Initially the Medes appear as a nation of riders associated with cavalry but without chariotry. Adad-nerari III conducted eight campaigns against the east most likely for the purpose of gaining access to Median horses (Radner 2003: 43).[459] The age of colonization is characterized by the direct Assyrian control of the Median parts of the Khorasan road.[460] From Tiglath-pileser III (744-727) onwards, the rulers of the region were referred to as *bēl-āli*= (LÚ.)EN-URU, "city-lords," a term apparently reserved for the

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certainty be identified as the product of the Median period. The scabbard from the Oxus treasure is dated no earlier than the reign of Darius I (Stronach 1998); or even Hellenistic date (Muscarella 1987).

[456] Archaeological excavations in the 'Median' sites have taken place at: Godin Tepe (Young and Levine 1969; 1974), Tepe-Nush-I Jan (Stronach 1969; Stronach and Roaf 1973; 1978; and forthcoming 2004), Baba-Jan (Goff 1968: 1969; 1970; 1977; 1978), and Mannean Hasanlu (Dyson 1965).

[457] This opinion is based on the continuing occupation of the 7th-6th century Median "fortress" at Tepe Ozbaki (Majidzadeh in Stronach 2003b: n. 18).

[458] "The Medes' most valuable asset was the position of their settlements along the Khorasan Road and their supreme skills as horseback warriors." (Radner 2003: 640).

[459] By the 7th century BC Egypt had also become a producer of horses. Three breeds of horses were common in Assyria: horses from Egypt, from Nubia, and from Messu in Iran. But before the 7th century, Iran was the main source for horses (Radner 2003: 43).

[460] Brown (1986: 111) argues that it was the need for food supplies that stimulated Assyrian expansion.

rulers in the Zagros Mountains (Radner 2003: 49).[461] Sargon refers to the Medes he encountered in 713 as "Arabs of the East that roam the desert and mountains like thieves"[462] (Radner 2003: 55). Among other things, this indicates there were camel caravans in the East. A period of symbiosis between the Assyrians and the 'Medes' ensued. This symbiosis is shown in the multicultural make-up of the Assyrian army (Radner 2003: 60), the Zagros populations,[463] and by the presence of craftsmen of Median background in Assur (Radner 2003: 62). During the time of Assurbanipal none of the five campaigns against Elam mention Median involvement (Radner 2003: 62).

The previous summary provides unmistakable parallels between the 'Medes' and the rest of the Zagros populations portrayed by the Assyrian sources. These similarities may simply indicate that differences may have been few and that relationships between the various groups inhabiting the Zagros and the big political superpowers were based on the interplay of common and conflicting interests, rather than an alleged 'Median' identity. [464] Politically and economically, the reasons given for the military control of the "Medes" were to secure the supply of horses and to control the Khorasan road. However, it is questionable whether the Assyrians would have felt the need to control the Zagros polities if it was not for the need to remove the Zagros elites, especially the Median elites, from Urartian and Elamite influence (Lanfranchi 2003: 104). After the collapse of Assyria the sources leave us in the dark, providing plenty of room for speculation. After a period of silence the Medes reappear in 615 BC courtesy of the Babylonian chronicles of Nabopolasar (Grayson 1975b: 90-96, Chronicle 3). As for our supposedly Median-Elamite points of contact we can only corroborate the opinion of Henkelman expressed at the beginning of this section. That is, there is no substantial evidence to back up the claim that Elamites and Medes interacted. Furthermore, the presence of individuals and groups with Iranian names as well as Iranian loanwords side by side with individuals bearing Elamite names in the Acropole Archive from Susa demonstrate Elamite-Iranian acculturation, but not specifically Elamite-Median acculturation(Briant 1984a: 94ff ; Henkelman 2003b: 212). Consequently, and despite the arguments made by some scholars, "textual and archaeological evidence from Iran does not lend any support to a Median domination of Khuzestan" (Henkelman 2003: 211).

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[461] Lanfranchi underlines the use of this title as a representation of psychological reflections and ideological assumptions of the Assyrians and that it does not represent true political realities (Lanfranchi 2003: 92). In addition, Lanfranchi refers to the use of the toponym *bi-t* followed by a personal name as "intended to indicate the primitive organization, bound to family and hereditary ties, institutionally very different from the fully developed bureaucratic, territorial empire of Assyria" (Lanfranchi 2003: 87).

[462] "Our view of the Medes as robber-barons living in castles and participating in the Mesopotamia-Iran trade by extracting toll from the passing caravans radically differs from that of the tribal nomadic societies of S. Brown " (Radner 2003: 52).

[463] During the time of Esarhaddon (680-669) "...numerous languages were spoken in the Zagros, most of them not even known by any specific designation to us" (Radner 2003: 59). Even the names of the known Median rulers cannot be traced to one specific language: some are Indo-European, some are Kassite, some are even Akkadian, and most are simply unidentifiable (Radner 2003: 64).

[464] Certainly, these mountain-dwelling, cattle-rising, horseback riding societies shared many social, economic and political characteristics (Radner 2003: 64).

Finally, some authors have alleged Assyrian influence present in Persian art via the Medes. M. Roaf suggests "Media as the most plausible conduit through which Assyrian influence traveled to Persia" (Roaf 2003: 16).[465] And further; in M. Roaf's words: "some of the so-called Assyrianizing metalwork known from excavations in Iran and from the antiquities market[466] might in fact be of Median manufacture

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[465] "That the Assyrian artistic tradition connecting Assyria and Achaemenid Persia was close to the Assyrian one is suggested by the style of some of the modeled seals from Persepolis, which according to Garrison and Root (2001: 16 ff.) would be identified as Assyrian, if they were not impressed on tablets in Persepolis at the end of the 6th century BC and did not bear inscriptions with Iranian names" (Roaf 2003: 21).

[466] I am assuming he is referring to the objects from the "Kalmakarra hoard" which has already been associated with the "Art of the Medes" (Mahboubian 2002).

(perhaps some of the metalwork from Arjan or from Chamahzi Mumah). But perhaps I am speculating too much" (Roaf 2003: 21). O. Muscarella however points out that there is no single *work of art* that can with certainty be identified as a product of the Median period (Muscarella 1987).

III.5. CONSIDERING PASTORALISM IN ELAM

The significant contribution of nomadic populations in state formation and political developments of the ancient Near East invites us to assess the influence of such populations in Elamite history and, specifically, to review the role of pastoralists in the Neo-Elamite period (Adams 1965: 59; Wright et al. 1975; Zagarell 1978: 7; Schwartz 1995).[467] Given the extreme difficulty of documenting the ephemeral culture of the pastoral nomads through archaeological[468] and textual records[469] the introduction of social anthropology or ethnography as a viable means to better understand their past has proven most constructive.[470] This approach is even more appropriate with regard to southwestern Iran which is home to some of the largest nomadic pastoral populations in the world. In addition, considering the role of the nomads in the history of Elam, the exclusive geographical features of the Elamite territory, which foster the development of nomadic pastoralist economic strategies, obliges us to consider this way of life as an important aspect of Elamite civilization. It has already been suggested that highland pastoral nomads bordering the Susiana Plain strongly influenced political developments in the Susiana plain (Wright et al. 1975). In this general context, the settlement pattern of the region of Fārs appears to have adopted a pastoral nomadic situation around 1000 BC while, by the latter part of the Neo-Elamite period (ca. 600 BC), most of Elam seems to have gradually abandoned most urban centers and embraced pastoralism as a dominant way of life (Miroschedji 1999: 62). Thus, with this context in mind, the goals of the present review will be threefold: (1) to determine the nature of the pastoral nomadic practices in first millennium BC Elam; (2) to underline the radical importance of the nomadic pastoral way of life in the developments that took place during and after late Neo-Elamite period; and (3) to stress points of interaction between nomadic pastoralists and settled (urban and rural) communities.

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[467] For an in depth analysis of the topic see Roger Cribb's *Nomads in Archaeology* (1991), with extensive supply of bibliographic information. Also *Geography of Settlement*, within an Iranian context by X. De Planhol 1968.

[468] This difficulty has not prevented some scholars from tackling this important subject (see Nissen 1972, Zagarell 1978, Hole 1980, and Alizadeh 1988, 1995). Flannery suggests that that archaeologists should probably be looking for the houses of several chiefly families (he is under the impression that the houses of pastoral nomadic chiefs are to be distinguished form the houses of any other high status city dweller). These houses should be large enough to entertain visitors (perhaps featuring a large central courtyard) and might have large outer walls for more privacy, a large kitchen, or multiple kitchens, large storerooms, either for food staples or for craft products that could be used as gifts for prominent subjects, and some part of the house devoted to ritual activities (Flannery 1969:50).

[469] The texts from Old Babylonian Mari offer an exceptional case-study to document the nature of this interaction (see Matthews 1977, Briant 1982).

[470] For historical studies on tribal groups in Iran see bibliography in L. Beck (2003:1).

Nomadic pastoralism refers to the involvement of a social and political body of people which travel between different environmental niches to provide optimum pasture for the herds.[471] Various degrees of pastoralism should be distinguished. Full nomadic pastoralists are without villages or cultivation and follow well established routes[472] while semi-nomadic pastoralists plant crops and may be sedentary. Semi-sedentary nomadism refers to villagers moving with tents to summer camps with their herds. Transhumant pastoralism is a specialized branch of agricultural economy belonging to a sedentary community (Khazanov in Greco 2003: 66).[473] Both nomadic

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[471] The terminology regarding pastoral nomadism is often confusing; For a detailed review see Zagarell 1978: 17 and Greco 2003: 65.

[472] Two general migratory patterns may be distinguished. Vertical pastoralism refers to the seasonal movement between highland and lowland pastures. This applies to regions with substantial elevation increases, i.e. the Zagros, Taurus, and Lebanon highlands. Horizontal pastoralism refers to seasonal movement between the dry steppe or desert (in winter) and wetter regions –often within or near agricultural zones (in summer).

[473] Horizontal transhumance is practiced by shepherds residing in the plains and moving in summer to the high mountain pastures. Vertical (or inverse) transhumance is practiced by shepherds residing in the mountains and moving to higher pastures in the

and transhumant pastoralism require large herds and professional shepherds. They involve the whole social and political body rather than just individual family centered households (Greco 2003: 66). Contrary to sedentary societies, in which most of the inhabitants occupy solid immobile houses throughout the year, pastoral (semi)nomads are mobile segments of society[474]. Their main characteristics are: (1) a seasonal pattern of movement from pasture to pasture with herds, (2) a tendency to follow the same path annually, (3) a sense of territory,[475] (4) a form of dwelling which can be discarded or carried, (5) a subsistence based upon meat and milk and storable plant food, (6) a social organization which allows for the changing composition of cooperative work groups and for corporate or individual ownership of herds and (7) a systematic effort to increase the number of livestock (Hole 1980: 122). The basis of nomadic life is the flocks and herds.[476] Sheep and goats combined differently make up the herd.[477] The products derived from sheep and goats are milk,[478] meat, wool and hides. Sheep

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summer, but in winter they descend (Greco 2003: 69). Rowton detected three kinds of transhumance in the Near East (Rowton 1973b: 252).

[474] It is significant that, in the eyes of the classical authors, the characteristic trait of the nomads is their mobility (Briant 1982b: 15).

[475] According to Barth's 20th century study of the Basseri Tribe from southwestern Iran the *il-rah* (tribal road) is considered property of the tribe. The route of the *il-rah* is determined by the geography and the available passes and routes of communication and by the available pastures and water. The schedule depends on the maturation of different pasture, and the movements of other tribes. Nothing prevents different tribes from utilizing the same localities at different times (Barth 1964).

[476] This review is based on modern ethnological studies of the Iranian pastoral nomadic tribes (see Barth 1964; Zagarell 1978). In 1958 the nomadic population of Fārs was about half a million out of two million individuals.

[477] Sheep are generally preferred because they provide wool but they need more care than goats and tend to produce less milk. Goat hair is also of high value.

[478] Sour milk is a staple food. Sour milk may be rocked in a goat skin suspended from a tripod to produce butter and buttermilk.

shearing takes place later in the spring, so that wool can be exchanged with villagers in the higher areas. The nomads use mules and donkeys for transportation.[479]

In the last 30 years the picture of a dichotomy between the settled and non-settled populations of the ancient Near east has given way to a more subtle appreciation of the various degrees to which these populations interact while adapting to different ecosystem (Nissen 1978; Hole 1978; Zagarell 1978: 22-23; Rowton 1979; Schwartz 1995).[480] Hole's "dimorphic zone" incorporates the theoretical work of Rowton regarding what he calls dimorphic chiefdoms.[481] A dimorphic society refers to the nature of the cohabitation between the unsettled and the settled, the nomadic and the urban (Van Der Toorn, 41) and presumes a symbiosis between tribal and urban societies taking place on the periphery (Rowton 1980: 295). The periphery regions located at the edge of a large-scale network of irrigation systems were the natural home for populations practicing "mixed economy". These marginal groups adapted to exploit this ecological niche in various ways and became an integral part of the political system. According to Nissen, the political stability of the center became dependant on its relationship with the half-sedentary groups. From the point of view of the urban centered populations, these marginal groups were in many ways closer to the fully nomadic groups using the area outside the cultivable lands (Nissen 1979: 289).[482]

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[479] Horses do not play an essential role among the southeastern nomads of Iran. The horse is a prestige animal whose main function is for raiding (Zagarell 1978: 19). Basic morphological differences between the donkey and the horse, such as a lower center of gravity (i.e. better stability) and the ability to observe the rear paws, make the donkey a better climber in a difficult terrain and a more reliable pack animal. Each tent or family of the Basseri tribe has about 6-12 donkeys and on an average of somewhat less than 100 adult sheep and goats (Barth 1964).

[480] Mesopotamian, Hittite, and Egyptian ethnography follow stereotypes about the nomads that are not different than those present in the Greco-Roman ethnographic accounts. This dichotomy was maintained by Kupper who saw a radical opposition between the sedentary and the nomadic worlds. Luke (1965: 76-79) and Briant (1965: 160) reversed this view showing that a combination of pastoral and agricultural activities were performed by the same peoples (Briant 1982b: 47).

[481] "Typically, the dimorphic chiefdom consisted of a town, usually small, from which a local or tribal dynasty exerted a varying blend of rule and influence over the tribes in the countryside" (Rowton 1980: 297).

A related model postulated by Rowton is termed 'enclosed nomadism.' This model engages the economic and territorial integration and interdependence of nomadic and settled groups (Spooner 1973: 6 in Zagarell 1978: 28) . This model views the tribe as a combination of both settled and fully nomadic elements. In this respect, Zagarell's original study of highland Zagros pastoralism in the Bakhtiary presents a regional model which emphasizes the high degree of functional integration between nomads and settled populations. Based on mainly 19th century ethnographical studies related to the tribes of southwestern Iran, Zagarell makes an important number of points: (1) full nomadic elements inhabited the south-west of Iran, (2) semi-nomadism was the main form of existence; i.e. almost every tribe in the area maintained some type of agriculture, and (3) most of the tribes contained elements with are fully sedentary (both in major cities as well as in villages). These three observations reveal that for the most part 'the nomad' tries to balance out and diversify his way of life seeking not to be overly dependent on either agriculture or pastoralism. That is why settled life, which is for the most part village oriented, contains pastoral elements.[483] Economic interdependence is also marked by physical contact. In most cases this contact is based on economic interaction but sometimes the mobile nature of the (semi-)nomads and their flocks creates zones of friction which have to be prevented through a series of alliances.

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[482] Nissen uses this model to illustrate the changes of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the take over of the Amorite populations. Accordingly, these Amorite may have been a conglomerate of nomads and marginal groups (Nissen 1979: 289).

[483] Until recently, the overwhelming majority of settled peoples in Iran lived in villages. It is perhaps of note to remind ourselves that most of the world also lived in villages until 1999 when, according to a UN report, most of the world population became urban.

Only under particular circumstances does the nomad become sedentary and vice versa. On the one hand, a nomadic solution may be adopted as a response to foreign threats (invasions, oppressive taxation). On the other hand, nomads may be inclined to become sedentary when their flock numbers become close to the minimum necessary for pastoral existence (see Zagarell 1978: 35).[484] At the same time, the border line between pastoralists and sedentary groups may be totally permeable when either cultivation of crops is practices by nomadic pastoralists along migratory routes or the members of sedentary villages become specialized herders. [485] Thus the relative mobility of both groups creates a transitional space and an alternative economic strategy for both types of human life.[486]

A number of ancient Near Eastern and classical texts of historic, mythic, and epic character contain references to "a mobile, herding element in society" (Zagarell 1978: 180-205; Postgate 1992: 83-7; Schwarz 1995: 249-58). It has been suggested that the description of Enkidu's "domestication" in the Gilgamesh Epic is a reference to the pastoral nomadic populations of the third millennium BC who still were key players in the geopolitical strategies of the Old Babylonian period (Tigay 1982: 209). Despite its clear bias towards urban culture, the Gilgamesh epic attempts to articulate an ideology which progressively invites the pastoralists to a partnership based on common struggle.[487] During the Ur III period the MAR.TU (later called *Amurrum* in Akkadian) are characterized as the tent dweller who "digs up truffles from the hills, do not bend their knee [have no organized temple cult], who eats raw meat, do not bury their dead [have no permanent cemeteries], and do not grow grain [no agriculture]" (Buccellati 1966: 92). The main rulers of the urbanized Mesopotamian centers of the Old Babylonian period traced their heritage back to a golden age when their Amorite nomadic, "tent-dwelling" ancestors had conquered and ruled over the steppe. Ironically, the same urbanized rulers had to find a way of coexisting with "elements of the same population that remained just as rural and para-urban as they had been." (Buccellati 1966: 110).

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[484] It is assumed that members of the same ethnically based group are occupied in both economic strategies and, therefore, the transition between these two 'lifestyles' may be relatively non-existent. Available studies reveal a great diversity in the degree of permeability between sedentary and pastoral nomadic mutualism (Bates 1971: 110; Barth 1960; 344-55). One may presume, for instance, that the incorporation of an impoverished nomad family into the village population would be plagued with difficulties of ideological nature (see Pastner 1971). Bates suggests (*contra* Barth 1956, 1964) that "symbiosis between agricultural and pastoral populations, especially if they are of a different ethnic group, has little to do with the availability of non-competitive niches in a shared environment, but is usually a function of the balance of power" (Bates 1971: 106).

[485] Traditionally in the southwest of Iran not only the nomadic peoples and their flock but many villages and city dwellers leave their homes in summer and move to cooler regions in the mountains.

[486] Pastoral and agricultural activities were also complemented by hunting, gathering, and trading activities.

An overview of the history of pastoralism in the ancient near East according to textual sources inevitably leads us to the Mari archives, our best source of textual information for nomadic-settled relationships in the ancient near East (Luke 1965; Rowton 1967, 1977; Liverani 1976; Digard 1976; Zagarell 1978: 205, and above all Matthews 1978; see also Postgate 1992: 83-7). The population of upper Mesopotamia had a large element of nomadic pastoral groups that moved around with their cattle. The Mari texts reveal the difficulty of maintaining a balance between the state and the pastoralists' interests. Faced with a strong, centralized urban power looking for territorial expansion and population control, the tribes organized themselves into alliances and confederations and made political decisions that affected their social and physical character. The clash of interests between both groups seems to have been determined by their opposing life style. The urban powers were concerned with population control, particularly in regards to military conscription and taxation, and with the control of the agricultural areas, i.e. the irrigable land next to the river. The nomads were concerned with the territorial control of the steppe, with the ability to move freely within their traditional network of wells and with the "ability to retain the cohesion of a large human group over the vastness of the steppe" (Buccellati 1966:109). A balance of power between the two entities had to be maintained in order to gain access to political control of extended areas of the Syro-Mesopotamian land. This means that, politically and ideologically, the city rulers of the period based their stability in traditional tribal alliances as well as in the powers of persuasion to make and maintain new ones. In addition, some tribes like the powerful Haneans consisted of fully nomadic, semi-nomadic, and settled elements (Rowton 1973a, b and 1974 in Zagarell 1978: 205). But it is significant that the pastoral nomadic tribes present in the Mari kingdom existed as part of a dimorphic society (Matthews 1978: 161).[488] Both groups were complex and versatile to the point that " it was possible, with the intervention of mediators and a fair consistent administration, for the groups to cooperate in the common exploitation of the region" (Matthews 1978: 161-2).

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[487] One interesting difference between the Sumerian and the Akkadian versions of the Gilgamesh Epic is that in the Sumerian version, Enkidu was the servant of Gilgamesh while in the Akkadian version, Enkidu became the friend and equal of Gilgamesh (Tigay 1982: 242-243)

Since textual sources stem from urban societies and our sources of information for the Neo-Elamite period are mainly issued from urban centered structures it is difficult to make a balanced evaluation of the actual historical presence of the pastoral nomadic populations in Elam. In addition, the mobility of these populations challenge the way our traditionally urban-centered archaeological practices assess the extent of their existence in the ancient record.[489] Most scholars agree that an incremental "process of pastoralization" in southwestern Iran caused the demise of urban centered structures and that by the fist millennium BC, part of the Khuzistan plain appears to have remained attached to agricultural-village centered practices while parts of the Zagros and Fārs regions were almost totally abandoned to pastoralism. Miroschedji has suggested a continuous process of de-urbanization of the southwestern Iranian provinces (Fārs and Khuzistan) leading to the almost total decline and abandonment of an agriculturally centered way of life. In this respect, and contrary to Mesopotamian trends— characterized by waves of new immigrants assimilating into sedentary urban fluvial civilizations (as was the case of the Amorites at the end of the third millennium)—, the abandonment of the urban centers and the embracing of pastoralism as a way of life by the inhabitants of southwestern Iran must be considered a significant characteristic of the Neo-Elamite period (Miroschedji 1999: 49, 62). Questions linger however, regarding the nature of this process and the role of the agents within it.

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[488] "Because their settlement and grazing areas were enclosed within the environs of the Mari state, the tribes had to integrate their culture with that of the urban community" (Matthews 1978: 161).

There are definite parallels between the process of pastoralization in southwestern Iran during the Neo-Elamite and Medieval periods. According to Classic Islamic sources, true year-round nomadism (as the one practiced by the 20th century Bakhtyaris) was a reaction to the Mongol invasion of the 13th century (Planhol 1968: 211) and was the result of Turkish migrations into southwestern Persia. Comparably, the migrations of Indo-European populations into Fārs and the Assyrian invasion of western Elam, together with the unique geographical characteristics of the territory, may have encouraged pastoralism, thus motivating the abandonment of a vulnerable sedentary life characterized by settled villages and fortified towns for the predictable security of the mountains and a dependable pastoral nomadic life.

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[489] The works of Zagarell and Nissen may indeed provide the exception.

The combination of textual and archaeological evidence points to a number of territories in ancient Elam which could be considered home to pastoral nomadic populations during the Neo-Elamite period: (1) from the town of Der to the Huweizah marshes, along the Elamite-Babylonian border, there was a strip of land inhabited by pastoral nomadic Arameans (Malbran-Labat 1975, 1980, 1981; Brinkman 1986; Miroschedji 1990: 64), (2) the tribes from Fārs are also mentioned in the Assyrian texts, inasmuch as their contacts with the Assyrian power were deemed to be relevant. Classic authors describe a number of pastoral nomadic populations inhabiting the Zagros mountain regions around the end of the fourth century BC[490]

(1) In the Assyrian sources there is not a specific term identifying the semi-nomad. However there seems to be a distinction among "outsider" nomads and "integrated" nomads (Malbran-Labat 1981: 57). The former refers to Iranian populations living on the eastern flank of the Assyrian empire. The Aramean and Chaldean tribes of southern Mesopotamia however are treated differently.[491] These are considered "integrated nomads" who to different degrees participate in the urban life of Babylon but who seek to become independent from the Assyrian yoke. By the time of Sargon, the Chaldeans appear to have fully integrated into the old Babylonian cities. Many of

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[490] The archaeological surveys of Zagarell in the Bakhtyari country and the various expeditions to Luristan provide additional information for the presence of pastoral related activities in these areas.

[491] The royal Assyrian rhetoric is permeated with long-held stereotypes going back to Sumero-Akkadian ideology defining the (semi-)nomads as an uncivilized barbarian *roaming* the mountains or the desert. "They are robbers ignorant of oaths to gods or pledges" (Malbran-Labat 1981: 61). The Sumero-Akkadian literary tradition developed ideological stereotypes associated with the mountains and the people from the mountains. The stereotype describes these people as ignorant of human laws. An civilized-barbarian dualism was sustained by means of literary legends and tales (Malbran-Labat 1981: 308; Durand 1975: 158.)

the Aramean tribes however appear to have remained marginalized from the large cities, living in small towns and practicing a nomadic existence (Malbran-Labat 1981: 67; Brinkman 1984).[492] Another approach of the Assyrian government was to incorporate special permanent units of these nomads into the Assyrian army (Malbran-Labat 1981: 68).[493] Many tribes inhabited the marshlands and islands bordering the territories of Elam (some are depicted in the Assyrian wall reliefs). Their survival was essentially dependent on limited agricultural estates and the raising of cattle, sheep, and goats. Their territories also formed a cross roads of important caravan routes. Given the close geographical proximity, these tribes had close contact with the Elamites and Elamite-Aramaic acculturation can be demonstrated. For instance, Tammaritu II king of Elam, himself apparently related to the Arameans, gave a present of horses to Ishtar of Uruk (Letter ABL 268 cited in Malbran-Labat 1981: 73; Waters 2000: 64 fn. 48). The Elamite King Huban-haltaš II gave his protégé Nabû-ušallim control over various tribes of the Sealand (Waters 2000: 38). The city Avva, in western Susiana, was probably Aramaic, but its inhabitants worshipped Elamite deities (Potts 1999: 302). In another incident of political relevance cattle belonging to the Elamite king and the sheikh of the Pillatu tribe were captured by Bēl-ibni (ABL 520; de Vaan 1995: 265-9).[494]

(2) There term "outsider" (semi-) nomads was used by the Assyrians to refer to Iranian populations living on the eastern flank of the Assyrian empire. We have already

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[492] The Assyrians seem to have been interested in supporting the wealthy merchant classes regardless of ethnic make up and to have attempted a policy of deportation towards the nomadic populations in order to assimilate them by force.

[493] Some tribes maintained permanent unites in the Assyrian army. It is however well known that at the time of mobilization many of these populations sought refugee in the southern marshes (Malbran-Labat 1981: 69).

[494] More examples are provided by Henkelman (2003b: 227).

noticed close parallels in the life style of the highland populations inhabiting the Zagros. In Elam proper, small parts of the region known as the Bakhtiary highlands, traditionally the home of the most powerful tribal confederations of Iran, have been surveyed (Zagarell 1976, 1978; Zagarell and H. Nissen1975). These surveys, although most relevant for the third millennium, show that the southeastern part of the Zagros mountains had a privileged role in the communication between the central plateau and the Susiana plain [495] and that the region "has never been totally isolated from the surrounding zones (Zagarell 1978: 143). " A strong pastoral nomadic element" inhabited this area of the Bakhtiary Mountains (Zagarell 1978: 146).

During the Achaemenid period there is no clear evidence about the character of the Zagros populations. According to Herodotus, during the reign of Cyrus and Cambyses, there were no fixed tributes but the different nations brought gifts to the king (Herodotus III.89 in Potts 1999: 319). Beginning with Darius, Elam and the other territories were administered as satrapies[496] with a series of fixed tributary sums for each. These sums were payable in various forms of perishable goods (livestock, barley or oil, etc) or in precious metals (see Koch 1989: 121; Briant 1992: 33 in Potts 1999: 320). One of the practices the Achaemenid rulers may have pursued in order to secure the loyalty of the Zagros tribes and the unity of the kingdom was the "tributary gift" made by the Great King to the tribal leaders. This activity placed the king in position of donor and, under the rules of hospitality and honor, directly created a formal bond of submission by which the receiver of the present was obliged to reply in terms of a 'pact of non-aggression.'[497] Thus the Achaemenid power was able to insure the relative loyalty of the Zagros tribes which included safe passage through their lands, the guarantee not to plunder the land, in addition to receiving soldiers from the Ouxioi, Kossaioi and Mardioi (Briant 1982: 93). These agreements between the Persian king and the pastoral Zagros populations from Khuzistan to Fārs were annually renewed.[498] The autonomous character of these populations was thus acknowledged, yet there was a definite dependency on the central state. We know that Darius faced three Elamite revolts seeking independence from the Great King[499] but little detail is known about the genesis or developments of these movements (Potts 1999: 318).

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[495] On all three sites surveyed there were a few sherds of late Uruk-Jamdat Nasr, perhaps dating to the Early Dynastic time span (Zagarell 1976: 61). It appears then that Sialk III-related elements moved south through the Bakhtiary mountains. Through the picture is incomplete, it would seem that the Bakhtiary mountain zone related somehow to activities occurring in the west. Young and Weiss have suggested that the Susians may have developed new routes to the Central Plateau as attested by Godin IV. The most direct route between Sialk, the Central Plateau and the Susiana plain would have been the Bakhtiyary road. Excavations at Godin Tepe showed that in Godin V, Uruk IV, Susa 17 pottery variety was imposed on local populations producing a Sialk III-related pottery of Phase VI (Weiss and Young 1975: 2-6). Sialk III pottery apparently borders much of the northern Luristan highland region. Sialk III-related pottery appears deep in the Pish-i Kuh, were it would seem to have been locally produced. Goff has already pointed out that Chigha Pahan, a site in the Kuh-i-Dasht, has certain ties to Giyan Vd and Sialk III 5-6, specifically citing the spotted leopards with single back and front legs (Goff 1971:138) but not to Susa A or Ubaid (Zagarell 1979: 56). Zagarell sum up: Godin VI (V) was connected with some sort of exchange relationship involving the Susiana plain. The Sialk group seems though to have been "dominated" on some level by a more highly organized group utilizing Uruk IV, Susa 17-related pottery (Zagarell 1979: 57)

[496] The word 'satrap' is an Old Persian word (Stolper in Potts 1999: 319).

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[497] These "gifts" were not merely material offerings in the modern sense but also carriers of symbolic gestures of relationship, signifiers of allegiance, prestige, status, and territorial extension (here I am adopting the distinction made by M.C. Root between tribute as *encomium* "–an expression of gratitude and continued allegiance to a great power," versus tribute as tax paid by a subject nation. See chapter VI of Root 1979: 227). The gifts conveyed not mere friendship or generosity but a calculated relationship founded on the ideas of hospitality and reciprocity. By giving, and with the gift being accepted, the giver created an obligation in which neither he nor the receiver was free, but bound to comply with customary rules. (The literature on the sociology and economic importance of the gift for "pre-market" economies is extensive. M. Mauss' *The Gift* is a suitable introduction. For ancient Mesopotamia see Oppenheim 1964: 97-104. For the Achaemenid period see Briant 1982: 88-94). The terms of the agreement took the form of an alliance in which the tributary party would offer material goods and personal services in exchange for ideological legitimacy, prestige and protection.

[498] According to Digard, until recent times, the Bakhtyari Khan performed an annual tour qualified as 'political'. "This tour lead them to the main strategic points on the territory under his jurisdiction where taxes were collected...but also groups considered hostile received presents [from the Khan] largely worth more than the tax." This activity placed the Khan in the position of donor and, under the rules of hospitality and honor, directly created the 'formal' bound of submission by which the receiver of the present was obliged to reply in terms of a 'pact of non-aggression' (Digard 1976).

In the ethnographic Greco-Roman literature the way of life of the nomad, in its opposition to the agricultural world, receives a definition substantially overcasted by negative stereotypes (Briant 1982b).[500] In the Zagros Mountains, the ancient territory of the Elamites, the Classic authors describe the dual aspect of the fertile territories of the plain inhabited by peaceful peasants versus the highlands inhabited by uncivilized brigands, most of whom happeedn to be (mobile) pastoral nomads.[501] Ancient Greco-Roman texts give no detailed account of the peoples inhabiting the Khuzistan and Fārs (ancient Elam) and only four principal groups appear represented, Kossaioi, Elymioi, Ouxioi, and Mardioi (see plate 59).

(1) The Kossaioi controlled the highland between Susa and Ecbatana and the region southeast towards Fārs. They inhabited the area north of Susiana. This may correspond to the territory of Ellipi, comprising the Kermansha plain and the Luristan (Briant 1985: 68). The Kossaioi of Luristan, "these men, who have been independent from ancient times", are described as pastoral nomads living in caves, eating acorns, mushrooms, smoked meat from wild beasts, and practicing some kind of agriculture (Diodorus XIX.19.3 in Briant 1982b: 18, 1985: 69; see also Potts 1999: 375). A defensive military tactic of the Kossaioi consisted in escaping to the mountains to find

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[499] The first to Elamite revolt of 522 BC was lead by Acina/Hasina , son of Upadarma (it is unclear whether Acina is an Elamite name, his father's name is indo-European); the second Elamite revolt was lead by Martiya/Imanish, son of Cincikhri (Martiya is a Persian name; his father's name remains etymologically a mystery); The third revolt was lead by Atamaita'/probably Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak (Potts 1999: 318).

[500] The Greeks did not have an intermediary category between the nomad and the sedentary. This makes the term pastoralism to be better understood as 'agro-pastoralism' instead (Briant 1982b).

[501] See *Montagnards et pasteurs d''asie dans la littérature ethnogéographiqure gréco-romaine* in P. Briant 1982b: 12-33.

refuge in caves containing enough provisions to sustain the blockade of their villages by the enemy (Briant 1985: 69).[502] The best defense of these populations was their knowledge of the terrain itself and their renowned dexterity in archery. The Kossaioi were attacked by Alexander in 324-323 BC from Ecbatana. In 317 BC the general Antigonus, trying to take the shortcut from Susa to Ecbatana, fought his way through their territory.[503]

(2) The Elymioi were the neighbors of the Kossaioi inhabiting the highlands of ancient Elam. According to Strabo, there was a division between the fertile plains and the highlands infested with these brigands (Briant 1982b: 30).[504] They provided numerous soldiers, in particular archers (Briant 1985: 77).

(3) The Ouxioi were centered in the Fahliyun basin and controlled the route from Fahliyun to the Persian Gates, including the highlands of Fārs. Arrian differentiates between the peasant Ouxioi, living in the plain, who didn't oppose Alexander's advance towards their territory, and the mountain pastoral Ouxioi who did confront Alexander. Alexander, guided by a Susian, defeated the Ouxioi in 330 and

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[502] De Bode, in D. Potts, comments on the Bakhtiyari 'power-bars.' "In the Bakhtiayari mountains the woman gather the acorns as they drop ripe for the trees, and bruise them between two stones in order to extract the bitter juice, they then wash and dry the floor in the sun...they bake the cakes or eat the paste raw" (de Bode 1843: 97-8 in Potts 1999: 375).

[503] See also Potts 1999: 374-5. The Greco-Roman authors failed to understand the significance of the tributary nature of the relationships between the Zagros pastoral-sedentary populations and the Persian king. For the Greeks, the act of buying safe-passage was simply a mercantile exchange engaging two parties in a market transaction. But for the Persians the voluntary gift was part of traditional norms of hospitality and exchange long ingrained in these societies which stress and honor the generosity of the individual. The greater the generosity, the highest the trust and, reciprocally, the higher the bond.

[504] Elymaei is associated with the country of Paraetaceni, also a land of brigands who relied on the ruggedness of their mountains (Potts 1999: 380).

imposed an annual tribute of 100 horses, 500 transportation animals (oxes), and 30,000 sheep (Briant 1985: 72).[505]

(4) The presence of pastoral populations in Fārs during the Neo-Elamite period is postulated due the absence of installations in the archaeological record. According to the Greco-Roman sources, the Mardioi were the Persian tribes inhabiting the territory between Persepolis and Pasargadae. For Quintus-Curtius, the Mardioi of Fārs hid with their families inside artificial caves, eating meat from domestic and wild beasts. (Quintus-Curtius V.6.17 in Briant 1982: 18).

To summarize, a number of points relevant to our discussion about the role of pastoralism during the Neo-Elamite period have been raised.

(1) Ethnographic, textual, and archaeological evidence indicate that the practice of pastoralism was a common characteristic of the populations inhabiting the Highland Zagros mountains, its piedmonts and the southwestern border of Elam. The sources do not specify the type of pastoralism practiced. True year-round nomadism however, does not seem to have been in place. Instead, a combination of semi-nomadism (of short distance reduced to the mountain valleys located nearby the villages), seasonal transhumant pastoralism, and farming must be considered as the most likely practiced. Furthermore, given the varying degrees of adaptation showed by the sources "we

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[505] Briant (1982: 91) has brilliantly exposed the tactics of Alexander and his Macedonians towards the Uxians and their cynical manipulation of the traditional ethics of reciprocity. In 330 BC, during an attempt to shortcut their way towards Persepolis, Alexander and part of his army were met with a tribute request by the highland Uxians. For the Greeks the expected "gift" was seen as simple extortion by a band of brigands. Yet, being aware of the nature of the exchange, Alexander gave them appointment on a narrow pass, where they were able to slaughter them and plundered their villages. However, politically and militarily, the "conquered" Uxians did not loose either their resistance capacity or their identity (Briant 1982b: 101).

should consider whether 'nomadic' and 'sedentary' or 'pastoral' and 'agricultural' are perhaps best conceived of as ideal types" (Berman 2000: 161).

(2) Three territories associated with Elam have been described as having been homelands to the pastoral nomadic populations. On the southwest, textual evidence shows that alliances, sealed by marriages, were made between leaders from powerful Aramean pastoral nomadic groups and Elamite rulers. In this respect Elamite-Aramaic acculturation is demonstrable. In the Zagros mountains, including Fārs, Greco-Roman sources speak of the armed autonomy of powerful pastoral nomadic tribes during the Greek and Persian periods. It is quite probable that these tribes were the descendants of antecedent Zagros polities.

(3) We should envision the possibility that, because of political autonomy, population and economic growth, and porous borders, powerful territorially bound groups of pastoral nomadic tribes emerged in the Elamite region. To paraphrase W. Henkelman, it is rural and pastoral nomadic Elam, that it is the Highland Zagros region—which has historically played a major role in the urban centered societies of Mesopotamia and which remain underrepresented in the textual and archaeological sources of the Neo-Elamite period— which may have represented the true Elamite heartland during the Neo-Elamite period (Henkelman 2003b: 227). The actual mechanisms that induced these territories to take part in the larger political alliances of first millennium Elam remain unclear. The threat of potential invasion and actual Assyrian aggressions of western Elam may have been two of the impulses behind the ruralization and pastoralization of Elam. Another factor may have been the actual presence and on-going symbiosis of pastoralists in the southwestern border of Elam and throughout the Zagros Highlands, including Fārs. In addition, one should take

into account the emergence and impact on Elam of powerful elites distinguished by their equestrian culture. At the end, given the dimorphic nature of the Elamite society, the disengagement from urban centers during period of conflict may point to an ordinary mechanism of social adaptablility.

NEO- ELAMITE HISTORY ACCORDING TO ELAM

The necessity to depend on Mesopotamian (Assyrian and Babylonian) evidence for the reconstruction of the Neo-Elamite period has generated a biased view of Elamite history (Waters 2000: 1; Henkelman 2003a). This view is not only biased in that it is foreign and, focusing in military and political history, for the most part adversary to Elamite interests and representation, but also it only covers a short chronological span of Neo-Elamite history (c. 747-643 BC), presenting only un unbalanced view of the whole period.[506] On the other side, the bulk of indigenous (i.e. Elamite) textual and artistic material concentrate on the last part of the Neo-Elamite period (Neo-Elamite III A and B).[507] In what follows, I will discuss textual and archaeological evidence and their relations to the Arjan tomb. Art historical evidence will be discussed separately as a complete chapter (see Neo-Elamite Art From ca. 717 To 575 BC). Since textual evidence remains very much at the base of this historical reconstruction, I begin with a summary discussion of this material. Before I do so, however, I deem important to include here a brief discussion of ethnicity during the Neo-Elamite period.

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[506] Exception should be made of the Babylonian Chronicles which comment on various aspects of Neo-Elamite history after the sack of Susa.

[507] The chronology of the Neo-Elamite III period remains under discussion. Some scholars begin the period with the death of Te-Umman in 653 BC (Steve, Malbran-Labat, through the reign of Nabopolassar (653), while Neo-Elamite IIIB goes from Nebuchadnezzar II until Cyrus the Great (Cyrus II). Vallat and Potts however begin the Neo-Elamite IIIA period with the sack of Susa (646 BC).

III.6. ASPECTS OF ETHNICITY DURING THE LATE NEO-ELAMITE PERIOD

> *"one of the impressions one gains most strongly from reading cuneiform texts is the great sense of place the peoples of Mesopotamia had.... The concept of race was of little importance to them, and almost certainly they were racially mixed.... So instead of being identified by race, men were known by their home cities, and the same was true for gods" (J.A. Black 1981: 39).*

Keeping with the tradition that sees the identity of Elam as composed of a dual personality (Elamite speakers and Semitic speakers) P. de Miroschedji has indicated that until the second half of the second millennium BC most of the indigenous populations of Elam were "*d'origine 'asianique*". Accordingly, the Elamites are given a very distinctive identity associated to language, religion, and territory: they wrote, spoke, and were named in Elamite language, their gods and civilization were Elamite and their principal territory was that of the Zagros Mountains, from Luristan to the Fārs, including most of the Khuzistan plain (Miroschedji 1990: 69). Non-Elamites populations from Susiana (the Zagros piedmont and the Kuzistan plain) spoke a Semitic language, and had religions and cultures closely tied to those of Mesopotamia. This unified view of the 'ethnic' makeup of Elam has been challenged by D.T. Potts who asserts: "the available written sources which pre-date the 18th century BC give absolutely no indication that the diverse groups inhabiting the Iranian Zagros and plateau regions ever identified themselves by a common term as all embracing as Elam.... Nor did the peoples of these diverse regions all speak a common language which, for lack of an indigenous term, we may call Elamite..., the linguistic make-up of southwestern Iran was heterogeneous and the language we call Elamite was but one of a number of languages spoken in the highlands to the east of Mesopotamia" (Potts 1999: 3-4, see also D.T.Potts' discussion on *Ethnicity and Ethnogenesis* in Elam, 1999: 440-441).

Whether or not one embraces a "pluralistic" (D.T. Potts) or a "bi-cultural" (Miroschedji) view of the Elamite 'ethnic' character most scholars agree that, by the mid-second millennium BC, the arrival of Indo-European immigrants into Elamite territory did change the traditional 'ethnic' makeup of Elam. These populations appear represented in the archaeological record of the Zagros Mountain range since the 15th century BC (Labat 1975: 380; Miroschedji 1985: 289; 1990: 69-70) and may have reached the Mahi Dasht plain towards the beginning of the Iron Age II (9th century BC; Miroschedji 1990: 70). It is probable, although far from proven, that these migrants gradually mixed with the Elamite populations of Fārs sharing in common their pastoral nomadic lifestyle. The fusion of both 'ethnic' elements may have created a new 'ethnic' group characterized by a dual Elamo-Iranian identity. The full expression of such a relationship may be seen in the emergence of new political and cultural entities in Fārs around the 6th century BC. At the same time, in the beginning of the 9th century BC the southwestern part of the Khuzistan plain saw the arrival of new immigrants of Aramean and Chaldean descent along into its Babylonian border

(Miroschedji 1990: 70-1).[508] At this point, according to P. de Miroschedji, the Elamite 'ethnic' element was limited to the low country and the regions between Khuzistan and Fārs.

The symbiotic existence of Iranians and Elamites at the late Neo-Elamite period has inspired some scholars to speak of this time as the "Elamite-Persian" —or the "Persian-Ethnogenesis" period — referring either to the assimilation of the Elamites into the emerging Persian empire or to the initial development of the identity of the Persians (Amiet 1992a: 93). Indeed, the idea that Elam was instrumental to the genesis of Persian identity and the formation of a complex state in Fārs has progressively gained the acceptance of many scholars. Thus scholars focusing on Elamite-Persian continuity emphasize the survival of Elamite traditions (see Henkelman 2003: 187-188)[509] going so far as to suggest that the Persian Empire could not have arisen without the former Elamite organization and administration (Liverani 2003: 10; Briant 1984b: 92-96).[510] In the words of D.T. Potts, "The Achaemenid empire, however 'Persian' it may have been, in one sense evolved from the Neo-Elamite social, cultural, linguistic and perhaps even political milieu" (Potts 1999: 306-

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[508] These Aramean tribes installed along the Babylonian-Elamite border (from Der to the Huweizah marshes, where the Kerkha river emerges) will become closely allied to the Elamites during the Assyrian wars (Brinkman 1968: 267-285; 1972: 278; 1977: 305-309; 1979: 226; 1985: 12-12; Miroschedji 1990: 71).

[509] The Persepolis Fortification tablets (dating 509-494 BC) indicate that the Elamites "were not felt to be 'separate' or even 'foreign', but primarily as inhabitants of the Persian homeland" (Henkelman 2003: 188). A similar reflection can be made in relation to Elamite religion were Elamite and Iranian gods are being worshipped side by side and the individual carrying out the sacrifice may have Elamite or Iranian names. This documentation reflect processes of acculturation than must have started at least a century earlier. In material culture various continuities can be noticeable as well (see Henkelman 2003: 188-189). "Elamite traditions did not fall on virgin soil, but were incorporated into an existing culture that was not exclusively dependent on foreign traditions for its development. Elamite traditions could have been absorbed in a meaningful way if they were to a certain extent altered to meet the demands of their new context" (Henkelman 2003: 189).

[510] "Persia is the heir of Elam, not of Media" (Liverani 2003: 10).

307). At any rate, the idea that the "éthnogenèse des Perses," a label coined by P. de Miroschedji, took place during the Neo-Elamite period is most significant for the present research.[511]

The general perception provided by the available sources leads to believe that the territory we associate with Elam was inhabited by culturally and linguistically heterogeneous groups of peoples. This said, it is uncertain to which degree, if ever, these peoples entertained ethnocentric notions of being "one–people." At the outset one may perhaps wonder whether or not ethnicity played a role in *fundamentally structuring the rise of states and empires*[512] and whether or not the application of the *ethnicity* concept to define past groups of people can justifiably be introduced into the historical record. In other words, are we making the mistake to provide a justification of difference based on notions that may have never existed? The application of this term to define groups of people is a product of the 19th and 20th centuries, may indeed suggest that may be applying a word used to describe the rise of European national-states to a notion of self-definition that never existed in the past (Just 1998: 278). Conversely, the ethnicity of the peoples under discussion has always played a key part on cultural and political analysis yet, until very recently, lack of criteria and a clear discussion of 'ethnicity identity' was generally lacking, with the ending result that these words seem to mean different things for different people.

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[511] Elamite urban culture as well as Elamite Zagros cultures became markedly affected by Iranian traditions. In many cases is juts an academic question whether a certain tradition is originally Elamite or the product of an already Elamite-Iranian cultural amalgam (Henkelman 2003: 190).

[512] So G. Emberling (1998: 576-7) in his review of Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 1977).

In the early 19th century those who studied ethnic boundaries[513] argued in favor of a number of identity markers that were thought to be representative of groups of people. In time, the traditional definitions of ethnic groups by associating names of tribes (in many cases imposed by an outside entity), with different languages, races, or physical attributes were proved to be unreliable guides to social boundaries (Fried 1975: 38 in Emberling 1995: 11-12; Hall 1997: 22-23, 177). Barth's approach rejected the equation race=culture=language and focused instead in describing an ethnic group as a "category of ascription and identification by the actors themselves" (Barth 1969: 10). This approach switched the focus of identity from the 'objective' differences such as race or language to the role of self-conception as prime agents. Ethnic identity evolved into "a cultural construct, perpetually renewed and renegotiated through discourse, social praxis…and subjectively perceived" (De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1995: 350 in Hall 1997: 19 and Emberling 1995:14). The embedded implication of this switch in focus is that ethnic boundaries are permeable, and dependent on a dynamic social process leaving room for the possibility of change in the actor's group membership (Embering 1995: 12). Furthermore, as ethnicity moved from the objective to the subjective realm of self-definition a new pattern of identity markers and criteria relying solely on autochthonous evidence have begin to emerge.

The important study of J. M. Hall (1997) examines the evidence for ethnic identity in ancient Greece between the years 900 and 600 BC. Hall recognized location or territory and the common myth of descent[514] as distinctive characteristics of Iron-Age/Archaic Greek ethnic groups in the *Argolid* region of Greece (Hall 1997: 25). Hall indicates that there is no evidence in his research to suggest a direct and exclusive association between pottery style, dress, ornamentation, burial types, or a specific dialect and ethnic groups. The channel used by Hall to identify ethnicity is literary evidence "which must constitute the first and final frame of analysis in the study of ancient ethnicity" (Hall 1997: 182).[515] Yet, artifacts, language and religion can be taken as "consciously employed emblematic indicia of ethnic boundaries" but not as "defining criteria of ethnic identity" (Hall 1997: 142). In other words, group 'ethnic' identity is expressed first in the spoken word and only secondarily in the material culture. Such a biased assessment has been met with the argument that ethnicity may be as powerfully expressed in material culture as in words (see the reviews of J. Hall by Ian Morris, Siân Jones , Sarah Morris, and Colin Renfrew in Hall 1998: 265-283). In sum, "ethnic identity", although based in part upon inherited features such as language, territory, descent, religion, is ultimately a matter of group self-recognition and self-identity, and is therefore to be seen as a construct, and to some extent, as a matter of choice (Renfrew 1998: 275). The notion that identity is constructed has to take into account the actual subjective process of self definition, which is articulated according to the social circumstances surrounding the individual or group of people (see Bourdieu 1980). In other words, in order to speak of (ethnic) identity, in addition to what the others have to say, one has to be able to articulate the features the actors themselves regard as significant (Barth 1969: 14).

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[513] See Emberling for the background to these approaches (1995: 10-11).

[514] "The genealogical reality of such claims is irrelevant, what matters is that the claim for shared descent is consensually agreed" (Hall 1997: 25).

Elementary forces dominating the dynamics of identity boundaries are those established by a process of shared experience and shared perceptions. We know little about the demographic makeup of later Elam and what we know is based on incompleted sets of evidence and localized trends. As it stands, the available sources for the Neo-Elamite period presents two unique sets of characteristics pointing to the increasing role of pastoralists in the political composition of the first millennium BC: (1) the makeup of southwestern Iran is characterized by the general decline of urban populations and (2) conversely, the abandonment of the urban centers and the embracing of rural life and pastoralism may be related to the increasing presence of new populations (Miroschedji 1999: 62, see also Part I: I8). It is in this context that we should envision the possibility that, because of political autonomy, population and economic growth, and porous borders, powerful territorially bound groups of pastoral nomadic tribes emerged in the Elamite region. The actual mechanisms that induced these territories to take part in the larger political alliances of first millennium Elam remain unclear. The threat of potential invasion and actual Assyrian destruction of Elamite urban-based networks of western Elam may have been one of the main impulses behind the ruralization and pastoralization of Elam. [516] Further factors may have been the actual presence and on-going symbiosis of pastoralists in the southwestern border of Elam and the Zagros Highlands, including Fārs. In addition, we should take into account the possibility that, by the mid 7th century BC, many of the Zagros highland elites had developed equestrian cultures with the ability to determine by raids and organized military conquest the geopolitical future of Elam.

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[515] Despite this exclusivist manifesto Hall does not advocate primacy to literary evidence in all approaches to antiquity (Hall 1997: 182).

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[516] It is certain that the sedentary demands of rural life (such as been tied to a specific plot of land and labor intensive) are of a different nature to those demanded by a pastoral nomadic way of life. In this sense, one may emphasized—as I have done here—the pastoral nomadic phenomenon as a response to economic pressures, but we have yet to consider whether religious ideology may have played a part in the maintenance of and return to a way of life characterized by mobility. M. Berman in *Wandering God* explores the spirituality of the nomad as being directly tied to the experience of movement. Movement, according to Berman, removes religious anxiety and makes religious ritual superfluous (Berman 2000: 168-169).

Generally speaking, members of an ethnic group see themselves as sharing common ancestry. This shared, common lineage creates a bond based on kinship. To the extent this bond is biological the members of a particular ethnic group would be physically similar. Also, the notion of common ancestry implies collective memory of an earlier unity (Emberling 1995: 5).[517] An exception to this identity marking is assumed for pastoral nomadic groups whose specialization developed parallel to the rise of the state and ethnicity (Barth 1961; Lees and Bates 1974; Chang and Koster 1986; Zarins 1990; all cited in Emberling 1995: 7). Groups of itinerant craft specialists have also assumed shared identity in the Middle East, both in the past and in the present (Postgate 1987: 268-269). In addition to the genetic bound, ethnographic studies of pre-industrial group identities reveal that for any individual or group there may be sets of pluralistic expressions of identity. A chief identity boundary, for instance, is manifested in the social makeup of rural and urban identities. This is a distinction based on differences in place-location and livelihood which does not necessarily presuppose different 'ethnic' groups or sets of competing interests or values. Generally speaking, rural identity contexts tend to be relatively stable and homogeneous since they are less exposed to foreign antagonistic forces. Urban residents, however, are compelled to underline their own distinctive and common interests in relation to other groups present in the city and those from outside the urban center. A similar broad scheme can also be developed in terms of the differences between higher and lower status individuals and groups. In sum, there is a sense of order in the use of these identity manifestations, "but it is order explicable only by reference to social, cultural, personal and situational context, and is not derivable from the terminological system or from the relationship of terms to their referents out of context" (Berreman 1982: 83).

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[517] Membership in states is not based on a biological bond, but on categories such as national, regional, class, and professional identities (Cohen 1969 in Emberlin 1995: 7).

At the end, whether self-generated or enforced by an outside factor, the perception of a common shared experience may have been responsible for generating an identity we may identify as Elamo-Iranian.[518] This new identity was the result of an interplay between local identities (a vast sea of localisms) manifested as clan, family, or tribally based in concert with larger notions of identity generated by a number of socio-cultural permutations including allegiances to places, territory, leaders, material and artistic expressions, religion, and language. It is within this context that emerges the evidence provided by the Arjan tomb. By the end of the Neo-Elamite period existed an individual whose cultural identity partook of a dual Elamo-Iranian background—as attested by his Elamite name (Kiddin-Hutrah) and Persian-named father (Kurluš)—, associated to the territory of Arjan, his political and social identity was that of a high elite status, while his artistic identity combined an intricate mix of Elamite, Assyro-Babylonia and Iranian (Zagros-based) elements.

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[518] The history of Elamo-Iranian relations is at its infancy (see Henkelman 2003: 181). Onomastic comparison studies of the Susa and Persepolis texts, distant each about 100 years, reveal that only ca. 10% of the about 2000 individual named in the Persepolis fortification texts bore Elamite names (Mayrhofer 1973: 310, in Potts 1999: 320) while ca. 10% of the about 600 individuals mentioned in the Acropolis and Apadana corpus of texts bear Iranian names (Hinz 1987: 128-129 in Waters 2000: 94, nt. 87).

III.7. TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

A reconstruction of the Neo-Elamite III period according to Elamite texts relies on a heterogeneous corpus of documentation. Most chronological disagreements arise from discussions related to the paleographic and stylistic features of five types of documents: (1) the tablets from Susa; (2) the Ururu or bronze plaque from Persepolis; (3) the Hanni inscriptions from Izeh-Malamir; (4) the 'Nineveh' letters; (5) and royal inscriptions. The present summary will attempt to correlate M. Waters' remarks (2000: 81-101) and W. Henkelman's review of M. Waters work (Henkelman 2003a), with Henkelman's own interpretation of the sources (Henkelman 2003b, 2006), the latest review of the evidence by J. Tavernier (2004),[519] comments by F. Vallat (2002: 372-376) and previous scholarship on late Neo-Elamite chronology by E. Carter and M. Stolper (1984), F. Vallat (1996b, 1997, 1998), M. Stolper (1992), and D.T. Potts (1999).

III.7.1. Economic and administrative tablets from Susa

These important texts represent the bulk of neo-Elamite inscriptions. The first group is an archive of 298-299 sundry clay tablets discovered on the Acropolis at Susa (Scheil MDP 9). The second group comprises seven texts found under the Apadana (MDP 11: 301-307, 309 B). The archaeological context of the Acropolis tablets is problematic and confusing due to contradictory remarks about the exact location where the tablets were found (Amiet 1973b: 4, n.1; in Potts 1999: 297). According to V. Scheil, the Acropolis tablets were found buried in the angle of a construction five meters below the surface, that is under " le dallage I flanquant le mur, dit achémenide, de la figure 66 du VIIIe volume des présents Mémoires" (Scheil 1907: I). According to the information provided by J. de Morgan, at this point, the Achaemenid level stops three meters below the surface while the Elamite level begins two more meters below (de Morgan 1905: 36).[520] The fact that J. de Morgan situates the Neo-Elamite temple of Shutruk-Nahhunte II (717-699 BC) 4 meters below the surface (de Morgan 1905: 34, fig. 66) indicates a small degree of imprecision as to where exactly the Neo-Elamite level begins. At any rate, lack of clear stratigraphic sequences hinders the possibility of establishing close relationships between the tablets and datable features of the Susa Acropolis. Consequently, scholars have to rely on the internal structure and contents of the tablets for their dating.

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[519] Much of Neo-elamite chronology has been based on establishing similarities between Elamite kings and similar names mentioned in the Mesopotamian sources. A linguistic study of the Neo-Elamite texts by Vallat providing the first relative chronology of the period and suggests that the comparative linguistic method may be problematic (see Vallat 1996b).

As for the content of the Acropolis tablets, various commodities are listed, primarily textiles, but also weapons, tools, precious metals, and other sorts of merchandise. There is a prominent figure in the texts, the supervisor *Kuddakaka*, indicating that the archive covers no more than one lifetime (Stolper 1992: 268). About six hundred individuals appear in this archive. Among the individuals mentioned there are several groups with Iranian names (10%), often specifically Assyrian, Persian but also Median as well. The rest are Elamite names.[521] There is reference to at least three kings: the king of Egypt (MDP 9: 158);[522] a king Appalaya (MDP 9, 71: 80?),[523] and king Ummanunu (MDP 9, 165: 4-5).[524] The geographic scope of the Acropolis texts covered much of Khuzistan and beyond, but the locations of many of the places named in the corpus are unknown. Places range from northern Mesopotamia to the shores of the Persian Gulf (at Bushire) and to Fārs (Henkelman 2003; Potts 1999: 299). Vallat has suggested that some of these locations preceded by the Elamite determinative BE, used to qualify personal names, may refer to nomadic tribes (see Potts 1999: 299; Vallat 1992; Vallat 1997e: 260).[525]

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[520] Confusion arises from the fact that the measurements given de Morgan in the text do not match those presented in the drawing fig. 66. (de Morgan 1905).

[521] See Vallat 1992.

[522] Hinz interpreted the text regarding the king of Egypt as recording gifts from the king of Egypt and reflecting an Egyptian-Elamite alliance as a prelude to Esarhaddon's invasion of Egypt, thus dating the entire archive to the early seventh century.

[523] Appalaï sunkik is understood by Scheil as the leader of a tribe sending messengers with goods to Susa. Because of the Semitic origin of the name, V. Scheil also believes this tribe to be found in the west of Susa, "sur les confins d'Assyrie ou de Babylonie" (Scheil 1907: 65)

In 1909 R. De Mecquenem found seven tablets in the Apadana (MDP 11: 301-7 and 309b). These are legal documents recording promissory notes. Finally, excavations by Ghirshman in the Ville des Artisans uncovered three more Neo-Elamite tablets in three different contexts. The tablets however share phraseology, orthographic peculiarities and a proper name (Tal-lak-ku-tur) with the Apadana and the Acropole texts, and with the 'Nineveh tablets' (H. Paper 1954; Weissbach 1902; Walker 1980: 79; references in Potts 1999: 301). The documents from Susa are generally dated to the first half of the 6th century BC (for references see Tavernier 2004: 30) with a more precise date (600-575 BC) provided by Vallat (1998: 311). Lastly, Tavernier has suggested an approximate date of ca. 590/580-565/555 BC (Tavernier 2004: 32).

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[524] Vallat connects Ummanunu with the activities of the Bahuri of the 'Nineveh' Letters, dating both the Susa Acropolis texts and the Nineveh letters to the early sixth century BC Vallat identifies the king Ummanunu as the father of Shilhak-Inšušinak II with significant repercussions for the traditional interpretations of Neo-Elamite history (Vallat 1996b: 389).

[525] "The various 'kings' mentioned in the Chronicles are basically taken at face value without considering the alternative reading to *šak*, not as 'son (of)', but as 'descendant (of)'. A more sophisticated model (based on ethnographic data) should take into consideration that tribal groups living at the western, northern and eastern borders of first millennium Khuzestan probably fostered a wide variety of relationships with the Neo-Elamite state" (Henkelman 2003a: 12).

III.7.2. The Ururu Bronze Plaque of Persepolis

A bronze plaque with an Elamite inscription naming Ururu and an engraved seal with an inscription naming "king Huban-šuturuk son of Šati-hupiti". (PT6 297) was found in the Persepolis Treasury (room 56, Hall 41) covered with charred matter (Schmidt 1957: 64). It is unclear what a bronze plaque written in Elamite was doing in Persepolis.[526] The document is a bronze rectangle 6 mm thick with two tabs on the upper edge which indicate it had been originally suspended. Schmidt explained the presence of the Ururu plaque at Persepolis as a war trophy (Schmidt 1957: 65). "It was a memorial plaque," says Schimdt, "recounting the founding of a temple, the fixing of a temple offering from some area where Elamite was the spoken language" (Schmidt 1957: 65). The fragmentation of the plaque and the difficult nature of the text defies a continuous translation. Numerous toponyms occur in the text. The town of Gisat (Kesat?) which, as we have seen, appears to be located in the vicinity of Hidalu,[527] is the only toponym that occurs elsewhere. It is frequent in the Persepolis Fortification texts and is closely related to the cities of Hidalu and Huhnur (Miroschedji 1990: 70),[528] although other authors locate Gisat in Aiapir (Izeh/Malamir) (Steve in Duchêne 1986: 66). The seal engraved in the Ururu bronze plaque includes an inscription of five lines: "King Huban-šuturuk son of Šati-hupiti". Human-šuturuk does not appear elsewhere and there is no information where or when he reigned. The only other attestation of the name Šati-hupiti is found in MDP 9 3:3 where he is identified as an ironsmith. According to P. de Miroschedji (1990: 79) "it is tempting to see Huban-Šuturuk as the suzerain of a kingdom east of Khuzistan" (Miroschedji 1990: 79).[529] The seal engraved on the plaque has been discussed already in Although badly damaged, the seal engraved in the bronze plaque presents unmistaken analogies with a seal from the Acropole and broad iconographic similarities with a glazed plaque Sb 3354 from Susa (Amiet 1966: 516, fig. 393; Heim 1989:128, fig. 48). The seal depicts two leaping horses with a flexed foreleg facing each other (Plate 85; seal 19P). The stylistic analogies with seal 16 from the Acropole are striking (see Appendix A) confirming a possible dating of the plaque to the time of the Acropole tablets. Schmidt dated the plaque "approximately anywhere between the early years of the 7th century BC and the third quarter of the 6th century" (Schmidt 1957: 64-65). Steve assigns it to his Neo-Elamite III A period (c. 653-605), noting the epigraphic similarities with the Hanni inscription and the Susa tablets (Potts 1999: 295); Vallat makes it contemporary to the Susa tablets (Vallat 1996b); Tavernier prefers a lower chronology and places it sometime between 585 and 539 BC (Tavernier 2004: 39).

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[526] In addition to the plaque eighteen clay labels of a characteristic oblong shape, torn from the objects they were originally attached to, were found in room 56. These labels share in common the presence of four distinctive sealings: seal 13 appears on label PT6 300 with four impressions of same seal (plate 5), seal 48 appears on three labels: PT6 303, PT6 316, PT6 320 (plate 12), seal 62 appears on thirteen labels (plate 13), seal 75 appears together with seal 62 plus label FT6 321 (plate 14) (Schmidt 1957).

[527] Kesat (ke-sa-at), PF 35: 2, PF 352: 14, PF 1996: 5, PF 534: 5, PF 550: 5, PF 1849: 7f, PF 1850: 5f, PF 1851: 7 (Hallock 1969).

[528] See Arjan and Hidalu in Part II.3.

III.7.3. The 'Hanni" inscription from Izeh/Malamir (EK I 75-76)

The two rock reliefs and inscriptions found in Izeh/Malamir (Kul-e Farah I inscription EK I 75 and Šikaft-e Salman III inscription EK I 76)[530] are most significant but poorly understood.[531] The subject matter and the placement of the reliefs attest to the significance of the unique setting where the reliefs are located.[532] These two reliefs bear an inscription by Hanni son of Tahhi, who titled himself *kutur* ("prince" or "chief") of Ayapir (see Stolper 1990 and Potts 1999: 302-3 for a description of the contents). The inscription and the reliefs are dedicated to Mašti, who is named "Lady of Tarriša." An invocation to Mašti follows before a description of a certain Šutruru and his role in the preparation of sacrificial rites in Mašti's honor. These rites are related in the main body of the inscription, which appears to describe the partition of specific parts of the sacrifices among the participants. Numerous short captions accompanying the reliefs identity those portrayed. The connections between the two sets of inscriptions are clear even if those of the reliefs are not (Stolper 1990: 281). The fact that a king named Šutur Nahhunte son of Indada is mentioned in the Hani inscription presents a number of problems. Initially, this Šutur Nahhunte was believed to be Šutruk Nahhunte II[533] who reigned 717-699 BC (Scheil 1901: 90-9; Hinz 1962: 105) but most scholars now believe them to be two different Neo-Elamite kings (Lambert 1967: 48; Amiet 1967: 37; de Miroschedji 1982: 61-2; Grillot 1984: 190 n. 25; Stolper 1990: 276-281; Vallat 1995, Waters 2000: 114; Tavernier 2004: 21). Based on epigraphic similarities with other late Neo-Elamite inscriptions Stolper suggests a date within the 7th century BC. Vallat makes them contemporary with the Susa texts, ca. first quarter of the 6th century BC (Vallat 1996b) while Tavernier pleads for an earlier date on the grounds of graphic and linguistic differences (Tavernier 2004: 19, 21).

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[529] For discussion of the seal engraved in the plaque see pg. 104, seal of "king Huban-šuturuk son of Šati-hupiti."

[530] The inscriptions were first published by Weissbach (1894); later Scheil (1901: 102-113); Hinz (1962); see Stolper for commentary and Bibliography (Stolper 1990: 276-181). The acronym EKI refers to the Die Elamischen Konigsinschriften, König AfO 16 (1965).

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[531] This author spent a week in March 2003 at Izeh/Malamir in the company of Iranian Archaeologist Jaffar Mehrkian. To date, the reliefs remain unprotected from weather conditions and vandalism. As time goes by, the rate of decay has increased exponentially. Publications have failed to submit detailed records of the reliefs.

[532] The exceptional, almost numinous geographical properties of the setting where the Izeh/Malamir reliefs are located cannot be stressed enough. In contrast to the arid steppe of the lowland, the Izeh plain has high rainfall and excellent grazing. Near the Izeh-Malamir plain oak trees cover the mountain slopes, and no doubt, oak forests were at least as extensive in the mid-fifth millennium BC (Wright, 1987: 144). In present day Izeh seasonal streams and permanent springs wash down from the surrounding cliffs towards the lake occupying the central part of the plain.

[533] Shutruk-Nahhunte II is a Neo-Elamite king (to be distinguished from the Middle-Elamite king Shutruk-Nahhunte I ca. 1190-1155) mentioned in the EK I inscriptions 72-3.

III.7.4. The 'Nineveh' Letters

The so-called Nineveh letters are a collection of twenty six letters and fragments of letters written in Elamite believed to have been found in Niniveh under unclear circumstances (Waters 2000: 91). These documents are problematic because of debatable provenance and content (E. Reiner 1969: 63; de Miroschedji 1982: 61; Vallat 1988, 1998; Waters 2000: 91).[534] Vallat and Charpin suggest they came from the Izeh-Malamir region (Vallat 1988, 1998). This was twice rejected by J. Reade, who confirmed their Ninevite origin (1992, 2000).[535] According to J. Reade, though their language (Elamite) and present location (British Museum) are secure, where they were actually written is unknown. Vallat reopened the debate by stressing their homogeny (Vallat 1998). It is the content of the letters which include names like Ayapir (*Nin* 5, 4) and mention the presence of individuals identified as Persians (*Nin* 2,13) that, according to Vallat, connect them with contemporaneous texts of the early 6th century BC (Vallat 1998: 99-100).[536] According to S. Dalley, we may be looking at Nineveh after 612 BC. Tavernier's study of characteristic Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid-Elamite broken writings confirms F. Vallat chronology and locates these tablets at around 590-555 BC (Tavernier 2004: 39).

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[534] For a chronological bibliography dealing directly with the Nineveh tablets see: Weissbach 1902, Walker 1980, Hinz 1986, Lambert 1977, Vallat 1988, Reade 1992, Vallat 1998, Reade 2000, Henkelman 2003b, Tavernier 2004.

[535] J. Reade suggests they may have been captured by Assyrians and taken to Nineveh, or that they were carried over to Nineveh by an Elamite refugee (Reade 2000). At any rate, the first of these tablets arrived at the British Museum around 1848 and the British excavations at Nineveh lasted from 1847 until 1891 (Reade 2000). Vallat however suggests some Englishmen going through Izeh-Malamir may have taken them to their colleagues at Nineveh. Neither J. Reade's or Vallat's suggestions can be independently confirmed. The presence of a Neo-Elamite tablet in Arjan which includes the personal name Bahuri (to be confirmed by M. Stolper and W. Henkelman) may transform the nature of this debate. If the 'Nineveh' letters originated in Arjan we may still wonder how they reached Nineveh and/or the British Museum. There is an interesting reference to the finding of a cuneiform inscription at Arjan. "Half way between Behbehan and the river Kurdistan (Marun), are ruins over a considerable extent of ground (Arrejan). These remains consist of kiln-burnt bricks, white mortar, and more or less elevated artificial mounds of earth. It was among them, I believe, that Sir John Macdonald Kinnier found a *stone slab*, with an arrow-headed inscription—a sure sign of remote antiquity" (De Bode 1845: 295-296). The cuneiform *stone slab* to which De Bode alludes in nowhere mentioned by Kinneir in his *Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*. It is known that Kinneir and the surveyor Monteith passed next to the ruins of *Aragian* on their way to Shiraz from Shustar (Kinneir 1813: 72) but there appears to be so-far no relationships between their presence in Arjan ca. 1813 and the arrival of the "Nineveh" tablets at the British Museum around 1848.

ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

III.7.5. Shutur Nahhunte's Inscribed Stone Horns

At least fifteen different attestations to Shutruk Nahhunte and Shutur Nahhunte appear in Mesopotamian and Elamite sources (see Waters 2000, appendix B). Most of these sources refer to Shutruk-Nahhunte II (717-699), the author of a temple to Inshushinak at Susa. A Shutur Nahhunte bearer of the title "king of Anshan and Susa, expander of the realm" and author of two alabaster horns dedicated to the goddess Pinigir at Susa (Vallat 1990b, 1995a)[537] is identified by Vallat as Shutur-Nahhunte II son of Huban-mena III (692-689 BC) and dated to ca. 645-620 (Vallat 2002: 375).[538] Vallat's dating goes against P. Amiet's stylistic analysis of the human-headed glazed knobs bearing the name of this king (Amiet 1967: 37).[539] Accordingly, Amiet makes Shutur Nahhunte contemporary of Shutruk-Nahhunte II: "les deux personnages doivent être tenus pour sensiblement contemporains, s'ils ne se confondent pas" (Amiet 1967: 37). M. Lambert suggested a date after the fall of Nineveh in 612 and the assumed Babylonian conquest of Susa in 590 BC (Lambert 1967: 51). M. Waters remains skeptical about assigning Shutur Nahhunte to a post-647 date (see Waters 2000:111 with an appendix on the issue). Shutur-Nahhunte may have been succeeded by two other Elamite kings bearing the title king/enlarger of Anshan and Susa: Hallutaš-Inšušinak son of Humban-tahra II and Atta-hamiti-inšushinak son of Hutran-tepti (Vallat 1995a).

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[536] The mention in the Nineveh tablets (*Nin* 13) of a messenger from an Assyrian king is not uncommon since they are also mentioned at Susa (MDP 9). The presence of an individual named Bahuri, king of Zamin (Probably mentioned in MDP 9, 88, see Vallat 1998: 100); and two other individuals, Upizza (Nin 5 appears in MDP 9, 172: r.5) and Tallak-kutur (Nin 1, 13 appears in MDP 9, 155), relate these tablets to a letter found in the Village des Artisans-Village Perse-Achemenide (see Vallat 1998: 103).

[537] It has been suggested that an Assyrian relief representing a Ziggurat with a shrine on top decorated with a pair of large horned bull heads may be showing the ziggurat of Susa before its destruction by Assurbanipal. Alternatively, a number of sites in Elam could have had temple towers decorated with horns (but apparently no the city of Maddaktu). The *esagila*

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complex of Marduk in Babylon is also said to be decorated with horns (Potts 1990: 36, nt. 18). For the subject of buildings decorated with horns see Potts (1990).

[538] According to F. Vallat, there are three Neo-Elamite kings named Huban-imena: Huban-imena I with a reign ending in 743 BC, Huban-imena II (692-689 BC), father of Shutruk-Nahunte, and Huban-imena III, father of Shutur-Nahunte. It also appears there may be two kings named Shutur-Nahunte: Shutur-Nahhunte I, son of Huban-imena III, and Shutur-Nahhunte II, son of Indada and father of Huban-kitin mentioned in the Hanni inscription (see above for the Hanni inscription; see also discussion by Tavernier 2004: 21). Huban-kidin, son of king Shutur-Nahunte (II) is probably the one appearing on the Acropole tablets MDP 9:5, lines 9-10 and the owner of the royal seal 12 * (see Late Elamite Glyptic; Vallat 2002: 376).

[539] Shutur-Nahhunte II is responsible for the manufacture of glazed knobs one of which is in the shape of crouching androcephalic winged bull with feline front legs (Amiet 1967: 36-38, fig. 8, Louvre Sb 6708). This particular object bears a dedication of Shutur-Nahhunte, son of Huban-mena (Lambert 1967: 47) and was found in the vicinity of the Shutruk-Nahhunte II temple together with a large corpus of glazed decorative objects. Belonging to this series of glazed knobs are two fragments of glazed tubular bodies of crouching bulls described by Amiet as analogous to the Shutruk-Nahhunte's exemplar (Amiet 1967: 36, nt. 1; Louvre Sb 6709 and Sb 6631, Amiet 1967, figs. 9a and 10a). Amiet suggests these two bodies should be related to two heads belonging to divine androcephalic bull knobs (Amiet 1967: 38-39, figs. 9b and 10 b).

III.7.6 . Hallutash-Inshushinak's Inscribed Glazed Knob

A fragment of a decorative glazed wall knob mentions Hallutash-Inshushinak, "loving servant of Napirisha and Inshushinak,," said to have been engaged in the rebuilding of a temple to Inshushinak (Malbran-Labat 1995: 136-137; Steve 1987: 50-51; in Potts 1999; 297). Steve dates this king to ca. 699-693 BC (Steve: 1987: 50). F. Vallat suggests a date after the sack of Susa by Assurbanipal (Vallat 1996b).

III.7.7. The Atta-Hamiti-Inšušinak Stele

Fragments of a limestone stele found at Susa mentions Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, son of Hutran-tepti, king of Anšan and Susa' (EK I 86-89) as having continued a project initiated by king Halkatash (see Potts 1999: 297; and references by Tavernier 2004: 22). Halkatash was tentatively identified with king Humban-haltash (König 1965: 173, n.5 in Potts 1999: 297; see Tavernier 2004 for expanding comments). Vallat locates Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak son of Hutran-tepti II in between 646-ca. 539 BC (Vallat 1996: 393). Waters, seconded by Henkelman and Tavernier, propose that Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak was the rebel Atamaita (Waters 2000: 85; Henkelman 2003; Tavernier 2004: 24), an Elamite who, according to the Bisitun inscription, directed the third Elamite rebellion against Darius I in 520 BC and was put down by Gobryas (Potts 1999: 318).[540] These attestations reveal that "Water's suggestion touches upon the possibility, seldom raised, that, Cyrus' march and victory in Susiana and Mesopotamia around 540-539 does not imply the annexation of Elam, as it is usually thought" (Henkelman

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[540] The three Elamite uprisings against Darius I—one in 522 by Acina/Hasina , son of Upadarma (both Iranian names, according to Tavernier 2004: 27); the second Elamite revolt was lead by Martiya/Imanish, son of Cincikhri (Martiya is a Persian name; his father's name remains etymologically a mystery); The third revolt was lead by Atamaita'/probably the elamite Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak (Potts 1999: 318; Tavernier 2004: 27-28).

2003). Conversely, it implies that Susa and Elam were not under complete Achaemenid control before Darius I.

III.7.8. The Kalmākarrah Inscriptions

The Kalmākarrah cave is situated on the Ma'leh mountain, in the Rūmišgān district of Luristān, and c. 15 km northwest of the site of Pol-e Dokhtar. The archaeological background to the cave and the events surrounding its discovery are described by Henkelman (2003b: 214). In sum, since 1989 a number of precious objects reported to have come from the Kalmākarrah cave began to appear in "the antiquity market". A total of about 360 objects were found inside the cave at an undetermined time.[541] It is estimated than c. 80 objects are in Iranian museums while many others have been illegally smuggled out of the country and have ended up in art galleries and in private and public collections. It is also believed that forgeries have been included in the extended Kalmakarra collection and that many objects not originating in Kalmākarrah have been deliberately associated with it. Neo-Elamite inscriptions appear on many objects. Henkelman provides a chart including all the inscriptions and their related objects so far made public (Henkelman 2003b: 223, table 2). On the whole, 17 different inscriptions appear in 44 objects. All the inscriptions include a "PN son of PN" construction. By far the most popular inscription (appearing in 19 objects) refers to "Ampiriš, king of Samati, son of Dabala". The inscriptions make reference to the kingdom of Samati. Vallat has connected some of the individuals mentioned with the similar named individuals from the Acropole texts. Vallat dates these inscriptions to the Neo-Elamite IIIb period (585-539 BC) on paleographic grounds (Vallat 1996b; 2000a). The various styles of the objects share a number of similarities with Achaemenid art (Henkelman 2003b: 222; Boucharlat 1998: 149f). At the same time a number of objects said to have come from Kalmākarrah present a pastiche of original styles which some authors have associated with the "art of the Medes" (Mahboubian 2000). If the 'kingdom' of Samati was located in the region of Kalmākarrah, in the border area between Elam and Ellipi, "the hoard attests to the acculturation between the Elamites and Iranians living north of Elam" (Henkelman 2003b: 224). Some authors have labeled the Kalmākarrah hoard "Median" (Donbaz 1996; Mahboubian 1995, 2000) however there is no evidence of anything Median in these objects: "There is no proof that "Medes" eventually took over the Ellipian territory, certainly not beyond Khorram-Abād" (see Henkelman 2003b: 225 n. 155; see also Kawami 1997). The inscriptions appearing in the vessels may indicate ownership. The idea that they were prestigious gifts has been challenged by Gunter and Root (1998: 27). They suggest "the inscribed Achaemenid *phialai* constituted the private possession of the king himself and were kept outside the dynamic of gifts exchange". There are however vessels which name seemingly non-royal individuals, perhaps high-ranking officials or relatives of the king (Henkelman 2003b: 226, Kal.5, 7-14). "One wonders why, if they were (royal) gifts to various private persons they were supposedly all found together with the royal vessels. A second option would be that they were gifts *from* individuals" (Henkelman 2003b: 226). One may have to assume a single silversmith or workshop in order to explain the often striking similarities between the various objects. Also we could explain the hoard by assuming it to belong to a collection of votive objects from a sanctuary such as the one found at Sork-e Dom, Luristan (suggested by Henkelman 2003b: 226).

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[541] Kalmākarrah is located in the winter pastures of present-day pastoral tribes (Goff 1968: 109). The hamlet of Darbākh is a tribal winter residency (Qazanfarī-Farzīn 1376: 13). Briant (1982: 67-81) reflects on the semi-sedentary agro-pastoralism of the ancient inhabitants of the region. According to Henkelman, Chigā sabz functioned as a pastoralist camp in the Iron Age III period. "Samati' could very well be the name of a mixed Elamite-Iranian confederacy of pastoralist or agro-pastoralist tribes headed by chieftain "kings" (Henkelman 2003b: 225). The caves of Luristan have been used by shepherds since time immemorial (Henrickson 1985: 29). A defensive military tactic of the Kossaeans, probably the inhabitants of the territory of Ellipi at the time of Alexander (Briant 1985: 68), consisted in escaping to the mountains to find refuge in caves containing enough provisions to sustain the blockade of their villages by the enemy (Briant 1985: 69). They were pastoral nomads practicing some degree of agriculture who used the caves for temporary storage of valuable goods (Briant 1985: 69).

To summarize, according to F. Vallat, the documents from Susa, the 'Nineveh tablets', together with the Ururu bronze plaque from Persepolis, the Hanni inscriptions from Izeh/Malamir, the 'Nineveh' letters and the Elamite letter from Armenia[542] present a language no longer defined as 'classic Elamite' but not yet 'Achaemenid Elamite' (Vallat 1996c in Potts 1999: 301). This language is to be dated after the collapse of the Neo-Assyrian empire, to the first half of the 6th century BC, or the Neo-Elamite IIIB period (585-539 BC), perhaps with a more precise date being (600-575 BC) provided by Vallat (1998: 311; Vallat 1997: 268; Vallat 1996b). Lastly, Tavernier has suggested an approximate date of ca. 590/580-565/555 (Tavernier 2004:

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[542] Three fragmentary letters written in Elamite were found in the large Urartian city of Argišti-hinili (in Armenia, present day Armavir-blur). The town was founded by Argishti I during the 8th century BC. The texts were found "inside the citadel walls, on the southern slopes of the Tepe, in room 22 of a 8th-7th century building adjoining the temple; the stratum contained some later intrusions" (Diakonoff and Jankowska 1990: 103). They were originally thought to be an Elamite version of the Gilgamesh epic (Diakonoff and Jankowska 1990). H. Koch questioned this interpretation and proposed they were economic transactions from the Achaemenid period (Koch 1993). F. Vallat interpreted these documents as a written request for information regarding the whereabouts of a female and places them chronologically posterior to 6th century Elamite documents—Persepolis letters, MDP IX and XI, Ururu bronze tablet, Nineveh letters—(Vallat 1995c, 1997b). Because he considers it unlikely that Elamites could be present in Armenia before the conquest of the territory by Cyrus II (whom he places following Briant around 550 BC) he locates these inscriptions between 550 and 520 BC (Vallat 1997: 268). M.-J. Steve dates them to 509-494 BC (Steve 1992: 24; see also Henkelman 2003: 200). This later date would suggest an Elamite presence in Armenia at the time of Cyrus (the conquest of Armenia by Cyrus is considered as unproven by Briant (2000: 44). Conversely, this letter may be a private document unconnected to the official administration (Henkelman 2003: 200).

32) for these documents, with exception to the Ururu Bronze tablet, the Hanni inscriptions (and king Shutur-Nahunte, son of Indada), and the 'Nineveh' letters, a little earlier than the documents from Susa documents, that is, in the last quarter of the seventh century BC making them contemporary of Nabopolasar, c. 625 BC (Tavernier 2004: 19 and 21). Steve assigns the Susa tablets, the Ururu plaque, and the Hanni inscription to the Neo-Elamite III A period (c. 653-605). Waters assigns the Susa documents and the 'Nineveh' letters to the late 7th century BC (Waters 2000: 100-1). For S. Dalley, the 'Nineveh' tablets should be placed after 612 BC and before 609 BC.

III.8. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Available Neo-Elamite archaeological evidence is reduced to a handful of sites (see plate 60). Except for the excavations and surveys by P. de Miroschedji, the remaining information regarding settlement activities reveals a great degree of uncertainty. This is partially due to the limited amount of Neo-Elamite excavated remains, to the usage of unwarranted excavation methods at Susa, [543] and to the existence of vague excavation reports, at least according to present standards. It was only because of the archaeological excavations at Ville Royale II, Susa between 1975 and 1977 (Miroschedji 1981a, 1987) that we know the sequence of Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid potteries in Kuzistan and can date these sites with some certainty. Although these excavations were never completed P. de Miroschedji was able to articulate a chronology that supplanted previous work (de Miroschedji 1999: 57). Given that the Neo-Elamite levels of Susa have not been properly excavated, the Neo-Elamite centers of Madaktu and Hidalu have yet to be found, and only a small portion of the traditional eastern Elamite capital of Tall-I Malyan (Anshan) has undergone excavation[544] the broader picture of the Neo-Elamite archaeological settlements, which depicts a relative progression of desertion of urban Elam, needs to be taken as provisional. P. de Miroschedji's archaeological work states a relative continuity in the material culture of the Neo-Elamite remains from Susa (de Miroschedji 1981: 36-40 but challenged by Carter 1994: 73). Accordingly, this evidence will not support a breakdown of the material culture of Elam during the N-E II and N-E III periods. This breakdown is speculated to have taken place either in 653 BC, which marks the return of the royal House of Urtak to Elam (supported by Steve, Malbran-Labat and Waters), or in 647 BC, which marks the sack of Susa by Assurbanipal (supported by Vallat and Potts). What follows is a summary report of the archaeological and artistic evidence in Elam pertaining to the Neo-Elamite period. I shall review this evidence following a geographical west-east direction.

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[543] Unique historical and archaeological characteristics make the site of Susa one of the longest inhabited and excavated sites in the world. For an evaluation of the archaeological history of this site see Chevalier 1997: 81-82; Mousavi 1996: 1-16; and Amiet 1997: 94-95.

[544] The ancient city wall embankment encloses more than 200 hectares, and the habitation mound within the wall occupies 130 hectares

III.8.1. Patak and Deh Luran

The northwestern regions of Patak and Deh Luran plains present four Neo-Elamite I and three Neo-Elamite II sites. The largest one is Tepe Patak, which P. de Miroschedji has identified as the Elamite Madaktu mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian sources (de Miroschedji 1986; contra Potts 1999b: 13-28). In the Deh Luran plain a number of new sites appear to have been founded during the Neo-Elamite I period (Cater 1971: 237-247). The largest site is that of Tepe Gughan. Further northwest, in the Mehran plain, archaeological work has not been conducted.[545]

III.8.2. Luristan

Iron Age Luristan (ca. 1300-600)[546] presents a distinctive cultural development best know by its bronzes, which are exclusive to the Luristan culture (for detailed maps of Luristan see plate 62-64). Since the main goal of most archaeological research in

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[545] Miroschedji situates the country of Rashi in this region (Miroschedji 1986: 212; Miroschedji 1990: 61).

[546] A proper Iron Age only came into being in Iran during the Iron Age III period. The use of the term Iron Age to define periods with a limited use of Iron (Iron Age I and II) has been deemed inappropriate (see comments and references by Thrane 2001: 118 n. 1). This usage will be maintained here in order to avoid confusion.

Luristan was the finding of cemeteries we do not have a full and balanced understanding of the Luristan Iron Age culture (Overlaet 2003: 10). The presence of numerous settlements both in the Pish-i Kuh (Goff 1968: 127; 1971: 150-151) and in the Pusht-i Kuh[547] (Overlaet 2003: 10) have been noticed but, except for a very small number, most settlements remain unexcavated (plate vi, fig. 8). In the Pish-i Kuh, an area identified as the Neo-Assyrian kingdom of Ellipi (Medvedskaya 1994: 63-64), a few settlements have been reported: Kamtarlan (Schmidt et al. 1989), Tepe Guran (Trane 2001), Surkh-i Dum (Schmidt et al. 1989), Baba Jan (Goff 1968, 1971), and Tepe Giyan (Overlaet 2003: 49-55).

Tepe Guran is a minor settlement in the Hulailan valley which adds much needed information to a period otherwise poorly known. Part of an Iron Age cemetery dating to ca. 1100-800 BC (Thrane 2001: 115)[548] was uncovered by the Danish expedition. This cemetery is represented by four burials containing similar grave goods: T 4, 5, 8 and 14 (Thrane 2001: 93-118). The burial chambers themselves are characterized by oblong pits made of stone walls shaped like bathtub sarcophagi (one of the smaller walls being rounded) covered by large stone slabs.[549] "Although no trace of a wooden coffin has survived, it is possible that there was some sort of container in the tomb originally" (Thrane 2001: 97). Other than the skeletons,[550] the burials contained iron rings (a chain?), one iron armlet, iron knifes, an iron pin, a bronze dagger, a bronze ring, bronze vessels, hemispherical bronze balls, large amounts of shell, glass, and stone beads, animal bones of sheep/goat, and a limited amount of pottery. The warrior grave, burial T7, is a single grave pit forming a rectangle with a rounded eastern end. A male skeleton with an iron sword, an iron spearhead, and a beaker occupied the pit. This burial has been dated to ca. 750-650 BC (Thrane 2001: 127). In addition, the presence of a settlement layer (layer B, 'boulder ruins') chronologically located at ca. 900 to 650 BC is understood by Thrane as an indication of a settlement made up of stone walls (Thrane 2001: 122).

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[547] The Belgian Archaeological Mission in the Pusht-i Kuh (1965-1979) excavated 11 sites containing a total of 121 tombs from Iron Age I and II (except for Bard-i Bal which also contains Iron Age III tombs). A total of more than 1550 objects were recorded, 65% being pottery (Overlaet 2003: 11). The chronology for the Pusht-i Kuh is as follows (Overlaet 2003: 8): Iron Age I-II (ca. 1300-750 BC) (see Overlaet 2003); Iron Age III (ca. 750-600 BC). See also Haerinck & Overlaet 1998, 1999.

[548] The *terminus post quem* is given by the dagger from burial T4 (Thrane 2001: 117), the *terminus ante quem* is provided by the pottery pitcher also from burial T4 (Thrane 2001: 115).

[549] Although burials T8 and T14 were too disturbed to reveal their rounded smaller wall (Thrane 2001: 102-103, figs. 87, 88 and 2001: 108-109, figs. 94, 95, 96), burials T4 presents a clear 'bathtub' shape (Thrane 2001: 96-97, figs. 80, 81) while the rounded small wall of burial T5 is less clear in the drawings (Thrane 2001: 98-99, figs. 82, 83).

Surkh-i Dum is an extensive Iron Age sanctuary about 30 km northeast of Kalmākarrah. The shrine may have had economic and administrative functions (Schmidt, van Loon, and Cuvers 1989: 489). The chronological sequence was determined not by occupational "levels" (Schmidt, van Loon and Cuvers 1989: 67) but by plots defined as "loci" which correspond to spaces inside a grid. Elevation points corresponding to the objects inside loci were recorded but a number of objects found in locations defined as "fills" do not include exact find spot (Schmidt, van Loon and Cuvers 1989: 67). This situation made the dating of wall hoards, i.e. objects found in or below walls, most tentative and can explain why the objects from Surkh-i Dum were dated by comparison to materials from Susa and Tepe Giyan. All in all "prudence in regard to the relative chronology of the finds is necessary" (Overlaet 2003: 34). The sanctuary was found amidst habitation buildings but their relationship is unclear. Sanctuary level 2c was composed of frontal open space, a side entrance with a long corridor opening to a large room with a central column, and a corner *cella.* The sanctuary appears to have been active during the Iron Age III period (levels 2A and 1). Since a chapel containing Neo-Elamite faience pottery was built across the open space Cuvers and van Loon suggest direct Neo-Elamite influence and relate it to the building program at Susa by king Shutruk-Nahhunte II (Schmidt, Van Loon and Cuvers 1989: 486-491; see also the summary by Overlaet 2003: 35-36). It is however uncertain whether the sanctuary was still in use in the latest phase of the Neo-Elamite period. The excavators place the end-life of the building as a religious center around 650 BC (Schmidt, Van Loon and Cuvers 1989: 448-491).

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[550] Burial T4 contained an adult male skeleton about 165 cm in height placed inside a sun-baked-mud brick platform. The face looked towards the west and the head pointed towards the south; Burial T5 was damaged but contained a female 30-40 years of age and ca. 160 cm in height; Burial T8 held an adult female skeleton 168 cm in height; Burial T14 contained at least three individuals, including a 4-5 year old child and a 18-20 years old male.

Chigā Sabz lies only about 18 km northwest of Kalmākarra. During Iron Age III the site was used as a campsite and as a place for "the burial of treasured objects before approaching danger" (Schmidt et al. 1989: 26). Two Neo-Elamite seals (plots H6-11 and I-J7, CS 272 and 421) were found with close analogies to the seals from Susa (Schmidt, van Loon and Cuvers 1989: 23; van Loon 1988; Vallat 1992 a). Seal CS 272 seems to be contemporary with the Acropole tablets (Vallat 1992: 14) while seal CS 421 is placed somewhere between 625 and 550 BC (Van Loon 1988: 224) (see the section on Neo-Elamite Seals and Sealings).

Tepe Baba Jan lies on the southern edge of the Dilfan plain. Iron Age settlement evidence is represented by a 30 x 35 m 'fortified manor' (Goff 1968: 112) found in an area on the central mound which is ca. 120 m in diameter and rises ca. 15 m above the plain (Goff 1968: 112; 1969, 1970, 1971, 1976, 1978, 1985).[551] The presence of a surrounding wall on level III-3 indicates a defensive purpose. A simple square building with buttresses and towers is present in levels III-2 and III-1. A monumental building complex described as a fort and temple with painted ceilings, stepped niches and corridors was found at the east mound which is ca. 85 m in diameter and 9 m high (see Henrickson 1983; Goff 1970: 147). Both the manor and the monumental building were abandoned before the end of Baba Jan III (late Iron II and early Iron III, perhaps around 850 to 650 BCA.[552]

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[551] A final excavation report has not been published.

Tepe Giyan originally covered an area of 350 x 130 m and was 19 m high. The site is in the Nehavend valley and contains two Iron Age construction phases Giyan I and IA, perhaps contemporary with Iron Age IIB-III graves (see Overlaet 2003: 53) although the identity of the building and the chronology remain are unclear. At any rate, some of the walls of Construction I which are over 4 meters thick indicate the presence of a monumental building.

III.8.3. SUSA

The Neo-Elamite sequence of Susa is known to us through the work of P. de Miroschedji (1978). To the excavations by de Miroschedji we must add R J. Wenke's classification of pot sherds which, according to Miroschedji, contain Neo-Elamite II forms (Wenke 1976: 104-112; de Miroschedji 1999: 57).[553] In addition to Susa, de Miroschedji's various surveys and excavations outside Susa concentrated on the area north of the convergence of the Karun and Diz rivers [see plate 61]. *Grosso moddo*, at the beginning of the Neo-Elamite II period the main towns of the previous period appear to have been abandoned (Tepe Chogha Pahn West [KS-3A/B], Tepe Sinjar [ks-7]; Miroschedji 1999: 59). Ten sites appear to have been occupied during the 7th and 6th centuries. The most important of which is KS-369, a fortified newly found site measuring about 10 areas. At Susa the chronological sequence presented by de Miroschedji is as follows [see plate 65]:

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[552] For a summary of the chronological intricacies see Overlaet (2004: 38).

[553] Accordingly, the sherds classified by Wenke as Achaemenid should be Neo-Elamite II and, conversely, those dated Seleucid are in fact Achaemenid.

N-E I Period (c. 1000-725/700 BC). Attested at: De Mecquenem's "elamite superior' or 'Suse-Elam III', Ghirshman's Ville-Royale A levels X-IX, and P. de Miroschedji's Ville-Royale II levels 9-8.

N-E II Period (725/700-c. 520 BC) Attested at: De Mecquenem's 'Babylonian period-end of Elam,' Ghirshman's Village Perse-Achaemenide I, and P. de Miroschedji's Ville Royale II levels 7-6 (plus funerary cave burial 693 and graves) and Ville Royale-Apadana (trench 5244).

In addition to these stratigraphic Neo-Elamite levels one has to incorporate a number of finds made during the excavations of J. de Morgan and R. de Mecquenem. These present a number of problems and much uncertainty having to do with the lack of stratigraphic correspondences among the finds. Here I will make special note of those remains where presence of Neo-Elamite artifacts is attested. In particular, I will make special note of the presence of "bathtub" shaped coffins.[554] Further analysis of the specific materials related to Arjan will ensued in Part IV dedicated to Neo-Elamite Art from ca. 717 to ca. 575 BC.

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[554] Despite the lack of a comprehensive study of Elamite funerary architecture or, for that matter, of general Elamite funerary traditions (the final publication in the MDP series dedicated to funerary Elamite traditions having not been made), distinct Elamite funerary customs may be discerned from the available archaeological record. From the 18th century to the Neo-Elamite period (including Susa Ville Royale AXV, 1/2 of the 18th century, down to Susa Ville Royale AXI, 13th century, and the tomb of Tepti Ahar at Haft Tappeh , 15th century BC) we can speak of a continuous tradition of at least five types of funerary practices: (1) The less fortunate were deposited directly in the earth; (2) a second group were found inside jars whose opening, in some cases, was not too large, suggesting the corpse was tied up in order to be introduced in the jar (Steve and Ghirshman 1966); a third (3) type with two variants consists on ether covering the deceased with, or depositing the deceased inside a bathtub

The so-far unpublished personal notebook kept by de Mecquenem, although characterized by a "exceptional gift of imprecision" (Amiet on R. de Mecquenem, Amiet 1980: 1), seem to contain a number of interesting details pointing to the presence of Neo-Elamite remains lying under the Achaemenid palace in the Apadana and in the Ville Royale (see plates 65, 66).

During the 1922 and 1923 excavation sessions reference is made to the presence under the '*central parvis*' (central courtyard) of the Achaemenid palace in the Apadana of a necropolis made of large and small corbel-vaulted tombs and reversed terracotta bathtub coffins (de Mecquenem 1980: 29; see plates 66, 67). Five inhumation periods are distinguished among these tombs (de Mecquenen 1924: 112). Periods *D* and *E* were considered to be Neo-Elamite (de Miroschedji 1978: 213).

East of the Apadana there was an artificial mound about 70 x 30 m containing what has been described as a large Neo-Elamite necropolis and various architectural remains belonging to different time periods (Scheil 1916: 165; Mecquenem 1922: 117-118, 1924: 115; see comments by Steve and Gasche 1996: 329, nt. 1).[555] Three sets of distinct funerary practices are represented among the remains. (1) Jars containing the

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coffin; a fourth (4) group had mud-brick corbel-vaulted *("en tranches")* rooms of various dimensions made in baked bricks and provided with an entrance that allowed for a multiplicity of burials perhaps indicating the presence of family mausoleos. Finally, (5) a fifth type of funerary tradition is represented at the beginning of the third millennium at Susa (Ville Royale I, burial 576) where a body was found inside a double wooden coffin (Carter 1976: 236). We can assume this type of burial was more common than the evidence provides for.

[555] The presence in this area of 12th century inscribed baked clay-bricks belonging to a temple of Išušinak have inspired a number of interpretations (see Steve and Gasche 1996: 329, nt. 1; Malbran-Labat 1995: 150, plan of Susa). These are now thought to have belonged to a temple of Išušinak located *in the Acropole* and restored by the brothers Kutir and Shilkhak Nahhunte (Caubet 2003: 330). The circumstances in which these bricks ended up in the Apadana remain unknown.

deceased's bones attest to a secondary type of interment; Here the excavator found a number of burial goods consisting of baked low-quality pottery, bronze rings and bracelets, beads, and a few clay tablets containing accounting texts (Mecquenem 1922: 118). (2) A more developed set of interments is represented by artificial corbel-vaulted funerary caves. One of the tombs measured 2.25 x 2.10 x 2 m and contained two skeletons. Three other tombs measured 1.50 x 1 m. These tombs contained some bronze rings and bracelets, and a few vases near the entrance of a unique shape, some of which were also painted (Scheil 1916: 165-166). Three of these structures had an added annex into which food offerings were deposited. In one of these annexes (*caveau* 3) there were seven tablets with Elamite inscriptions making eschatological references dating to the time of the "Great Viziers" *Sukkalmah* (Scheil 1916; Steve and Gasche 1996). Another tomb, perhaps from the same location, and described by de Mecquenem as belonging to period E, was a large funerary corbel-vaulted cave measuring 5 x 2.4 x 2.8 meters containing among other things a number of "lamps" and one cylindrical white faience pyxis with two pierced ears on the side and a pierced lid. This type of vase can be said to be characteristic of the (late?) Neo-Elamite period (De Mecquenem 1924: 116). The 1931-1932 excavation sessions brought forth another Elamite-type necropolis, this time from under the 'Achaemenid' palace in the Donjon (de Mecquenem 1980: 39-40).[556] (3) Last, a third type of interment is attested in the northern sector of this mound where R. de Mecquenem reports to have found 2.5 meter below the surface a number of reversed clay made "bathtub" coffins. The measurements given are 1.2 to 1.4 meters length, 0.5 to 0.6 m wide, and a height of 0.5 meters (de Mecquenem 1922: 118-119, fig. 1).

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[556] See R. Boucharlat (2001) for the identity of this 'Achaemenid' palace.

A Neo-Elamite Palace in the Apadana?

A vexing topic of Elamite architectural history regards to our ignorance of monumental royal architecture, not least, because, to date, no Elamite palaces have yet been found. For years, the claim was made that a Neo-Elamite palace did lie under the Achaemenid palace of Darius II at the Apadana mound (Ghirshman 1966: 11). Given however both, the destruction of Susa by Assurbanipal and the method by which Darius' palace is reported to have been built, this claim has been difficult to be proven acccurate.[557]

According to Assurbanipal's own detailed account of the sacking of Susa he "entered into its palaces and dwelt there amidst rejoicing" (Luckenbill 1989 vol. II: 307-309). Further, in the course of the plundering of the city, Assurbanipal takes explicit note on mentioning the plundering of the palace and total destruction of the religious icons of Susa: the *zikkurat* of Susa "which was built of enameled bricks" and "horns made of shinning bronze.... The sanctuaries of Elam I destroyed totally" (Luckenbill 1989 vol. II: 309-310).[558] Assurbanipal is keen in portraying himself as the divinely-appointed enactor of the humiliation of the Elamite gods yet nothing in this account indicates that, contrary to the temples and the Ziggurat, the Neo-Elamite palace was included in the destruction. In addition, Neo-Elamite texts dated after the destruction of Susa mention the presence of palace-chiefs (Scheil 1907: text III; Vallat

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[557] See D.T.Potts for discussion (1999: 334).

[558] "The people and spoil of Elam, which at the command of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar on Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal and Nusku, I had carried off, the choicest I presented unto my gods." (Luckenbill 1989 vol. II: 311, 814).

1999: 34 n. 6) and possibly a royal palace itself (Vallat 1999: 34).[559] The problem thus is not one of arguing whether or not there was Neo-Elamite palatial architecture in the midst of Susa but one of locating it and, if possible, describing it.

According to translations from the Elamite and Akkadian versions of the foundations tablets found at Susa (Dsaa and DSz, versions found by J. Perrot in 1969-1970; see Vallat 1971: 2-9), Darius gives specific illustration of his work leveling the Apadana mound in order to set the foundations of his palace: "the ground was dug in depth until it reached the bed of the soil. When it was completely dug out then, the filling up gravel was made over 20 cubits" (DSz in Elamite, lines 20-22; Dsaa in Akkadian, lines 7-9. Vallat 1971: 8-9).[560] Accordingly, if a the layer of river gravel was brought to level the Apadana " all the way to the bed soil" any evidence of pre-existent Elamite remains would have been removed. In fact, what it appears to have happened is that the palace walls were built over foundations of different depths made of trenches filled with gravel.[561] The soil coming from the trenches may have served as mortar for the construction (De Mecquenem 1922: 117; Perrot 1981: 83-84). Consequently, and according to R. de Mecquenem's reconstruction, any presence of Neo-Elamite architecture on the Apadana would have been reduced to locations not demolished by the trenches that is, in the space between the walls such as courtyards.

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[559] That is, according to the presence of the word i-ya-an (*hiyan*) on tablets MDP IX: 102, 4 and MDP IX: 147, rev. 6. See Vallat 1999: 35 for the various arguments related to the interpretation of this term.

[560] One cubit equals one arm's length.

[561] According to de Mecquenem's excavations, the layer of gravel deposited was uneven and varied according to location (De Mecquenem 1922). For instance, at the northeastern angle of the terrace the gravel reached down to 7.5 meters (De Mecquenem 1922: 115). But, on the north-south trenche I and II (on the eastern courtyard) the gravel was only superficial; and on the central courtyard (*Parvis* central) the gravel was totally absent. On the other hand, the 3.65 m thick foundation walls of the central courtyard stood over a layer of gravel 11 m deep (De Mecquenem 1922: 117).

This suggestion was confirmed by three locations on the Apadana mount which revealed the presence of Neo-Elamite remains: the central and eastern courtyards, and the eastern sector of the palace of Darius. The examination of the material found in these locations is thus fundamental for assessing the possible presence of a palatial structure in the Apadana mound.

The Neo-Elamite evidence in the Apadana mound, however, does not support the existence of palatial architecture. Instead, large amounts of funerary structures ambiguously related point out to some sort of funerary rise. Below the courtyard and just 2 m. below the pavement there was a square room associated with vaulted funerary chambers (B and D) containing diverse grave materials including pottery and precious goods (de Mecquenem 1922: 132-133, pl. vii, viii). Also in the central courtyard there were a series of glazed decorative architectural elements which should be considered Neo-elamite because of their similarities with the decorative elements of the Inšušinak temple from the Acropole (De Mecquenem 1922: 117, Pl. VII; Amiet 1967: 41). In addition, a number of scattered objects also found under the palace are said to be characteristic of the "art nouveau" style developed during the Neo-Elamite II period (post ca. 700-520).[562]

These materials all together with the large amounts of funerary structures scattered throughout the mound are taken as evidence to the presence on the northeastern sector of the Apadana of an Elamite necropolis composed of funerary vaulted chambers containing grave goods and precious objects surrounding a temple to Inšušinak temple (1913-1914 excavations, De Mecquenem 1980: 24). The presence of a religious complex in the Apadana would somewhat duplicate the existing sacred area of the Acropole, where a temple to Inšušinak is attested next to Ziggurat and to the Ninhursag temple. According to S. Heim, the temple in the Apadana may be the *kumpum kiduia*, or the 'exterior chapel' of Inšušinak (exterior to the main sanctuary in the Acropolis) (Heim 1992: 126). Vallat has indicated this temple may have be the royal palace chapel with a tabernacle (*suhter*) containing the royal symbols of power, and representations of royal and divine personalities (Grillot 1983 in Caubet 2003: 327; Vallat 1999: 38). More recently however, A. Caubet has questioned the accuracy of the evidence reported by de Mecquenem arguing that all elements of the Išušinak's temples frieze found in the Apadana originally belonged to the temple of Inšušinak in the Acropole (Caubet 2003: 330).

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[562] The "art nouveau" is represented by the head of a goddess (Amiet 1967: 41, fig. pl. VI-1 a-b); two heads of a male (Amiet 1967: 41; fig. 12 b and 13 b and Amiet 1967: 43, pl. VI-2 a-b); Glazed vases (Amiet 1966, figs. 370, 372, 378); The stone carved 'queen's ' head with a crenellated crown from Naqs-i Rustem.

The possibility that the architectural plan of the Achaemenid palace was inspired by traditional Elamite architectural features was put forward by R. Ghirshman (Ghirshman 1965: 93). M. Roaf instead has suggested that Darius was inspired by the Neo-Babylonian plan of Nebuchadnezzar (Roaf 1973: 80) while Amiet has pointed to Neo-Assyrian connections and, in particular, to the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh as the source of inspiration (Amiet 1974: 79-80). The stimulation for the palace of Darius is certain to have followed contemporary monumental royal palaces, including the influence of local Elamite architectural and decorative practices (Potts 1999: 334). Elamite monumental royal architecture is echoed in the exceptional villas from the Ville-Royale at Susa and best represented in a number of architectural features that have emerged from Haft Tappeh and Tchogha Zanbil.[563] The largest of the two massive tombs found at Haft Tappeh, a rectangular baked brick chamber with a vaulted roof with east-west end walls about 1.40 m thick and a corbel-vaulted roof resting on a ledge in the wide side walls, provides a reference point for Elamite architectural achievement. The side walls rise on to a height of about 4.30 m above the top of the vault effectively enclosing and protecting it.[564] This magnificent tomb of the Elamite king Tepti Ahar, which has been standing for almost 3500 years, assures us that Elamite architects had the ability to cover with baked bricks an internal space measuring 10 x 3.25 x 3.75 m, the external dimensions being 5.8 x 12 m (Negahban 1991: 15). The technological skills required for the construction of such a vault were already put into practice at Susa since the 18th century Sukkalmah period (Ville Royale AXIV) and ought to be considered an Elamite architectural signature. Most of the examples of this technology that have survived relate to burial practices consisting of funerary caves built by lying two rows of baked bricks in two diagonal lines meeting at the top of the vault.[565]

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[563] The claim that the palace-hypogeum, palace II and palace III (plus a fourth palace believed to have been located between palaces II and III) from Tchogha Zanbil were the "first elamite princely residencies to have been unveiled" (Ghirshman 1968: 82) seems to be

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contradicted, in fact, by a number of observations made by Ghirshman himself (1) In his view, the palace-hypogeum is described as a "temporary royal residency' (Ghirshman 1968: 58) yet, the underground tombs were built before the 'palace' above was to be built. (2) There are also remains of a necropolis next to the palace-hypogeum whose excavation was never completed (Ghirshman 1968: 101). (3) Palaces II and III, although badly damaged, conserve architectural elements quite similar to the ones found in temples of the Eastern Complex and the temple of Hishmitick and Ruhuratir. (4) In addition, the function of the alabaster vases found near palace III appears to be cultic (Ghirshman 1968: 83). (5) There is not a satisfactory explanation for the presence of the sanctuary of the fire god Nusku in the vicinity of the 'palace quarter' (Ghirshman 1968: 84). (6) Finally, the 'discrete' small entrances to these 'palatial' installations, in contrast to the monumental entrances of the Ziggurat (Ghirshman 1968: 76), are understood by Ghirshman as one more proof of differences between cultic and secular architectural planning (Ghirshman 1968: 48). Alternatively, we may be dealing with installations of a funerary-religious character.

[564] The height from the floor to the beginning of the vaulted roof is about 1.4 m. and to the top of the vault is 3.75 m. The vaulted roof itself is about 3.20 m wide and 2.35 m high. The inner dimensions of this tomb are 10 x 3.25 x 3.75 m high.

[565] The tomb is constructed of square baked brick 0.38 x 0.38 x 0.08 m and square half bricks 0.38 x 0.19 x 0.08 m. Slightly smaller baked bricks 0.35 x 0.35 x 0.06 m are found in the vaulted roof. Gypsum mortar is used between the bricks.

The application of funerary Elamite architectural practices and technologies to other areas of monumental Elamite architecture is an uncharted topic and one can only speculate, as R. Ghirshman, M. Roaf, and P. Amiet have done, about the possible applications of such a technology to further our understanding of urban and monumental Elamite architecture. It is not in the scope of this dissertation to add one more opinion to the previous discussion. Yet, in my view any claim regarding the presence of a Neo-Elamite palace under the Apadana or the influence of traditional Elamite architecture upon Achaemenid Persian architecture would have to be based on a comprehensive understanding of the various aspects of Elamite vernacular architecture[566] and, in particular, in the application and adaptation of mud brick architecture to hot climates.[567] With this knowledge in hand, one should be able, for example, to indicate whether or not it is possible to relate the function of the mysterious four pilasters[568] located on large rectangular "reception" halls to a central vaulted surface.

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[566] Vernacular architecture, sometimes pejoratively called 'architecture without architects,' focuses on the effect of climate conditions and ecosystems on the architectural practices of a particular group of people. The effect of climate on city planning and on architectural forms are easily observed in the architecture of the Old Elamite Period. Two of the main problems confronting the Elamite architect in designing and planning for the hot arid location were to ensure protection against heat and provide adequate cooling. Because of the long hot summers and relative short cold winters the ancient Elamites built their houses largely for the summer months although including minor adjustments for the short winter months and cool nights. In this respect, vernacular architecture had to be sensible to the position of the sun and prevalent wind throughout the year. The buildings are constructed in clusters, attached to one another by common walls. Clustering the building reduces their total exposed surface area, thereby reducing the solar-heat gain. The streets were narrow so that the wall parapets shaded the neighboring buildings (and pedestrians), reducing the solar-heat load. Heat transfer from the outside air would have been further reduced by limiting the number of doors and windows (to know more about this topic see Badawy 1958, 1966; Bahadori 1978; Fathy 1986; Hardenberg 1982; and Manzoor 1989).

[567] There are two advantages of using a dome or barrel vaults rather than flat roofs: (1) barrel vaults are markedly superior when it comes to room temperature and, (2) they are inherently stronger; therefore they can be made lighter and do not require the support of wood beams, which are scarce in the dry areas. The hot air that gathers under a curved roof is well above the living area of the room the roof covers. A curved roof has a lesser area exposed to sun radiation than a flat roof. A curved roof is also most efficient when it incorporates air vents in its apex, since the difference in air pressure induces hot air under the roof to flow out through the vent. In areas where the wind is prevailing cylindrical roofs are built with the axis of the cylinder perpendicular to the wind direction; in areas where the winds blow in all directions domed roofs are employed. Air vents are usually over the living rooms of buildings

In sum, textual evidence presented by Assurbanipal's accounts points to the presence of a neo-Elamite palace at Susa and there is further evidence to support the presence of a palatial structure after the sack of Susa but nothing supports its presence in the Apadana. Unfortunately, we lack knowledge of almost every aspect regarding the layout of this presumed Neo-Elamite palace and can only make an informed guess based on comparing previous traditional Elamite architectural practices such as the ones articulated in the Grand Villas of the Old and Middle Elamite periods with the 'newer' ones built by the Achaemenid rulers.

II.8.4. Izeh/Malamir

In contrast to the arid steppe of the lowland, those areas in the front-ranges of the Zagros have high rainfall and excellent grazing, particularly during the early summer. Near the Izeh-Malamir Plain oaks cover the mountain slopes and, no doubt, oak forests were at least as extensive in the mid-fifth millennium BC (Wright, 1987: 144). Rainy season streams and land for grain make cultivation ideal. This plain is the

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(the literature regarding mud brick vernacular architecture is not extensive. See Kubba 1987; Fathy 1986; Manzoor: 1989; Bahadori: 1978; Badawy 1966).

[568] The four pilasters (*salle-aux-saillants*) hall is a rectangular room with four pillars placed near the short walls and a large doorway in the middle of its long side, opening onto a courtyard. The wall separating the courtyard from the reception hall is always wider than the surrounding walls. This unique architectural feature appeared first in history at Susa during the *Sukkalmah* period (18th century) and disappears during the Middle Elamite period (Ville Royale AXI, ca 13th century BC), it would not reappear until the Neo-Assyrian period. The double four-pilaster hall appearing at the Darius's palace from Susa (35 x 9 meters) is interpreted by Perrot as part of the private royal quarters (Perrot 1979: 87). The function of the pilasters remains obscure. Roaf indicates they were used non-structurally to delineate alcoves at the end of the room (Roaf 1973: 86; See in particular Benseval 1984).

last major area of winter grazing on the route going from Susa eastwards towards modern Isfahan. An intensive survey was conducted in 1976 by Wright (Wright 1979; 1987: 142). The archaeological history of the Izeh/Malamir region (including the Qalah Tol plain) reaches back to the later 5th millennium (see Wright 1987 and Shahnideh 1979), covers the fourth millennium (Wright and Redding 1979) and the end of the 4th and 3rd millennium (Wright 1987, Sahhnide 1979, Kramer 1980, and Schacht 1981). There is no attestation of Neo-Elamite periods although the royal inscriptions from the stone carved reliefs attest to the existence of a political power durign the first millennium BC (Carter 1994: 73; de Miroschedji 1990: 56).

III.8.5. Rām Hormuz

The Rām Hormoz plain is located south of Izeh, a strategically located territory on the way to the highlands and on the road to Fārs. The sites of Tepe Bormī (18 ha.) and Tall-e Ghazīr (7.5 ha.), were both occupied during the Neo-Elamite I period and, most probably, during the Neo-Elamite II period (see Carter 1994 and de Miroschedji 1990a: 57). We can expect these settlements to have been important factors in the transmission of urban traditions such as royal dress, glyptic, scrip and religion (de Miroschedji 1985: 296-303; Carter 1994: 67; Henkelman 2003: 185), but this will have to be supported by actual excavation of the sites.

East of Khuzistan, on the border with Fārs, lies the area which shall further occupy our attention because of the presence of the Arjan burial tomb. Before the discovery of the Arjan tomb a Neo-Elamite presence in the Behbahan plain was uncertain. With the discovery of the Arjan tomb the Fārs-Khūzestān area appears to be of prime importance for the transfer of urban traditions since it is most likely that

Arjan is located in or near the ancient Neo-Elamite eastern capital of Hidalu. North of Behbahan lie the central Zagros mountains (or Bakhtiary mountains) which have been partly surveyed by Zagarell. For the 8th and 7th centuries BC there is attestation of related material to the one found in the Push-I Kuh (Zagarell 1982b, fig. 4-6; Miroschedji 1990: 55). Some first millennium BC evidence is also reported but nothing concrete beyond a few pottery sherds (Zagarell 1982). The Zagros area connecting the central Iranian Plain with the regions of Izeh/Malamir and Fahlian merits further attention specially since the recent discovery of Middle Elamite tablets in the site of Tel-i Afghani (between Lordegan and Semiron).

III.8.6. Fahlian and Nurabad

The regions of Fahlian and Nurabad are presently undergoing survey and excavation.[569] According to the 2002-2003 results by the Australian expedition directed by D. T. Potts, the occupation at Tul-e Spid extends from the Bakun A times (ca. 4200-4000 BC) down to the Sasanian period while the occupation sequence of Nurabad (a larger site of ca. 25 m high and covering ca. 5 ha.) goes from the Mushki/Middle Susiana period (ca. 5500 BC) down to the Achaemenid period.[570]

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[569] For a history of the exploration of the Fahlian plain see Stein 1940: 32-39 and Seidl 1986: 6. The Kurangun relief was sculpted during the 18th century but, according to Seidl, the additions are Middle-Elamite II (Seidl 1986: 13). See section on Open Air Sanctuaries: Kurangun.

[570] Personal communication from Daniel T. Potts (3/31/2003; and 2004).

III. 8.7. Fārs

In Eastern Fārs no occupation is attested from the Neo-Elamite period (Miroschedji 1971; 1990: 52).[571] In central Fārs there was dramatic progressive abandonment of the extensive urban settlements located in the Marv Dasht plain since the beginning of the second millennium BC [see figure 61]. The plain became totally abandoned by the beginning of the first millennium BC.[572] The result of the ungoing excavations of Tul-e Spid and Nurabad however may change our knowledge of the occupation history of western Fārs. We lack information to illustrate the archaeological characteristics of other areas in Fārs during the Neo-Elamite period (Miroschedji 1990: 54). Archaeologically, the absence of occupation in Fārs since ca. 1000 BC presupposes the existence of pastoral nomadic populations and, conversely, the reversal of a sedentary, urban population to pastoralism (Sumner 1986; de Miroschedji 1985; 1990a). There may be some remains at Tel-i Malyan that are to be dated within the first half of the first millennium. In burial 47 in area DD43 there was a pit grave with an individual containing three ceramic vessels (unrelated to pottery from Susa) and a faience cylinder seal related to Iron Age glyptic from Marlik (Carter 1994b: 66, fig.3; 1996: 47, fig. 46; Potts 1999: 285).

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[571] For the total archaeological record of the region see Miroschedji 1971; Stein 1934: 137-140; The 1961 excavations of Tall-i Zohar by F. Tavalli remain unpublished (see de Miroshedji 1990: 52).

[572] For the total archaeological record of the region see Vanden Berghe 1966: 37-45; Sumner 1972; Jacobs 1980 and Miroschedji 1990: 52. For the ceramic known as Teimuran B (Vanden Berghe 1966: 44, pl. 60f) see Miroschedji 1990: 53. For the dating of the tombs of Gur-i Dukhtar and Da-u Dukhtar see Stronach 1978: 300-304, app. 2; and Miroschedji 1985: 292, n. 113.

III.9. ARTISTIC EVIDENCE

The application of art historical analysis to comprehend the ancient past invites an understanding of art that goes beyond the formal properties of the artifact. Seeking to go beyond a description of the formal aspects of an object and trying to understand its larger social role (i.e. who made the object, why, and for whom) entails a critical analysis of traditional Western art historical methods for the examination of non-Western artistic production. Until not long ago, longstanding distinction between 'popular' art (Greek *techne*, Latin *ars*)[573] and 'fine' arts (connoting judgments tied to the quality of the work) determined much of the artistic philosophical exegesis regarding ancient art and gave rise to a number of theories concerning its presumed hierarchical nature and its social, material, psychological, or formal values (Anderson 2004: 234).

During the past twenty five years, and perhaps as a reaction to the 'ossification' of the art historical field and a new emerging conscience that reassesses the broader cultural ramifications and impact that images have on society, a field of studies defined as visual culture or visual intelligence has taken shape.[574] Under these rubrics scholars of diverse interests study the epistemology of perception and its impact on society. Behind these investigations lies the precept that we all live in visual cultures and yet remain for the most part unaware of their semantic visual language and its impact in our lives (Cossette 1983: 168). It is still unclear how this movement will translate into the field of ancient Near Eastern art historical studies. At the outset, the importance of visual communication in a largely illiterate society should alert us to the significance of harmonizing present artistic criteria with those espoused in the past.

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[573] The ancient Greeks used one and the same word to designate art and handicraft: *téchne*. To equate the artist and the artisan was not to degrade the artist but rather to exalt the artisan. A *téchnites* was a man who made the world visible, the shoemaker as well as the architect or sculptor.

[574] See 'Visual Images Replace Text as Focal Point for Many Scholars' *by* Scott Heller. *The Chronicle of Higher Education,* July 19, 1996.

The study of Mesopotamian and Elamite art and aesthetics has evolved from the systematic work of analyzing and classifying elements of style—very often with the sole purpose of dating the object chronologically—to a broadening of interests which recognize the inseparability of the social, economic, religious, and the artistic. This new awareness of the organic nature of the artifact or, in E.H.Gombrich words, to the "ecology of art",[575] has coincided with an increased availability of standard reference publications and encyclopedias describing religious and mythological iconography, allowing for the possibility of comparing elements in visual media with textual information (Green 1986: 143-145). As a result, scholars interested in the broader visual properties of an 'artistic' object have been able to go beyond traditional art historical comparative methods and to propose analytical criteria based on autochthonous models. Increasing interest in the multiplicity and complexity of an artifact also means that, in the words of I. Winter, "the visual needs to be studied with the full analytical arsenal available to us –art historical, archaeological, anthropological, and textual- and on its own terms" (Winter 1997: 359). At a fundamental level, how people perceive, and what social values people attach to this experience does indeed indicate the need for a coherent visual classification system which, in our case, must be supported by ancient Near Eastern standards. In this regard, a significant essay by I. Winter sets the tone of this discussion by pointing out the multivalent character of an artifact and revealing that, despite historical and political change, and potential problems with semantic interpretations, there is a surprising degree of continuity in the vocabulary of the ancient Near East concerning the manufacture of objects, their visual attributes and perception (Winter 1995). In the words of I. Winter (1995: 2575):

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[575] Meaning :"the changing function of images in their social contexts" (Fernie 1995: 225).

> What is distinctive about Mesopotamian tradition is the degree to which aesthetics and emotional responses are closely intertwined and the degree to which the sacred seems to be manifest through visually affective, hence aesthetic, qualities.... If anything, the links that the ancient Mesopotamians crafted between aesthetic affect and the sacred seem closest to what was obtained in Medieval Europe or in Hindu and Buddhist Asia, where a primary role of the aesthetic experience was to provide a conduit for encountering the divine".[576]

Indeed, as advanced by E. Porada in 1986, the nature of art in the ancient Near East is primarily of a religious function. Because religious art seeks to apprehend the underlying ultimate harmony of the universe it is not necessarily concerned with what is beautiful, true, or useful but with what is eternal. This religious underlying character of the artifact embraces the organic nature of the artistic experience revealing that aesthetic properties are far from being superfluous or luxurious but, to the contrary, are concrete manifestations of cultural expressions which combine function, form, and meaning. This is certainly not the place to engage in a discussion about the primacy of the sacred over the aesthetic—which, incidentally, may be as empty an argument as the one generated by those seeking primacy of the text over the image (see Mittchell 1986)—but the close association of Mesopotamian art and religion calls for a harmonization of the conventional levels by which artifacts ought to be interpreted. Furthermore, the modern western separation of art from craft should be abandoned in favor of an "art" belonging to an "aesthetic of function".[577] If anything, the above general philosophical outlook invites a shift of the art historical focus and a retooling of our interpretative skills. Thus, whether supported by the evidence, in addition to the practical aspects of an artifact, the goals of enquiry should embrace an overarching autochthonous organic approach that combines the visual and the textual, the contextual, the expressive and semantic aspects of an image.

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[576] "(Divine) inspiration as the source of creative artistic intuition (genius) has been a source of much philosophical and metaphysical discussion. In religious terms, aesthetic intuition and inspiration belongs to the realm of the spiritual world. To consider visual reality within the mental framework of aesthetic intuition means that any surrounding matter or object begins to be understood in terms of a reference. That is, meaning is acquired only in so far as we are able to grasp the frames of reference, or what E. Cassirer calls the "multiformity and diversity of intuitions" (Cassirer 1945: 160). Aesthetic intuition requires the active (*actus*, a doing or moving) contemplation of the mind (Ryle 1949). R. Descartes insisted on understanding the term 'intuition' in its original meaning, that is *intueri*, 'to look at, upon, or toward' (Arnheim 1986: 136). "By intuition," writes Descartes, "I understand...the conception of the pure and attentive mind which is so simple and distinct that we can have no further doubt as to what we understand." Intuition, Descartes adds, "is more certain than deduction itself" (Descartes 1961: 10).

Our understanding of Neo-Elamite art has been tempered by lack of comprehensive archaeological stratigraphic sequences at Susa. These have obliged us to depend on stylistic methods that, despite the praiseworthy effort made by E. Porada (1963) and P. Amiet (1966), have not yet provided a clear picture of Neo-Elamite artistic sequence. This situation was recognized by W. Hinz in 1973 when he stated that "...at present those finds and monuments which have come to light do not justify a detailed description of the period; it is possible that the position may change if further digs are undertaken in Susiana, and in the mountains of Luristan and of the western Fars" (Hinz 1973: 178). With contemporary events such as the Iranian revolution in 1979 and the ensuing Iraq-Iran war W. Hinz's fair assessment of the situation remained unchallenged.

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[577] After Holland Cotter's article regarding the art of the Marquesas islands ('Tikis and Tattoos: A Remote Archipelago Exudes a Potent Presence,' *The New York Times*, Friday, May 13, 2005, pp. B 33).

In addition to poor archaeological methods, lack of original archaeological evidence, and the overwhelming weight associated to the Assyrian historical accounts, the prevalent view sustained was one of dissolution and decadence which enveloped the last years of the Elamite Empire. This view was further fortified by a position seeking to portray the Achaemnid Persian power as lacking autochthonous "civilized" Near-Eastern roots and therefore, not unlike the Germanic barbaric tribes, borrowing everything. Conversely, these views have been challenged by positions seeking to articulate the continuity of Elamite culture, not only after the destruction of Susa but also as essential part of the genesis of the Achaemenind Persian cultural ethos.[578] Thus in view of these two seemingly irreconcilable positions— i.e. decadence and fading vs. continuity and reemergence of Elam after the destruction of Susa—and the fact that no new evidence was forthcoming, little substantiation could be offered to buttress any of the positions or articulate alternative ones.

It is within this background that the chance discovery of the Arjan tomb and related funerary goods present a justifiable exceptional opportunity to take up the challenge expressed by W. Hinz in 1973 and offer a new assessment of Neo-Elamite art. To begin with, our knowledge of the early artistic sequences of the Neo-Elamite period is sketchy and restricted to very few existing sites and artifacts. This situation invited P. Amiet to declare that the 12th to the 8th centuries BC was "a period of obscurity and stagnation" (Amiet 1967: 46). This stage was followed by a renewal of architectural activities initiated by Shutruk-Nahhunte II (717-699). It is with this ruler that, according to Amiet, emerges "a true beginning of the Elamite renaissance"

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[578] "When Elam was incorporated into the Achaemenid Empire in 538 BC, the Persians inherited its art and civilization" (W. Hinz 1973: 178).

(Amiet 1967: 46). Accordingly, an artistic sequence for this late Neo-Elamite period should be fastened on the evidence provided by two corpora of material distantly separated by about one hundred years. The first one is related to the activities at Susa by the Elamite king Shutruk-Nahhunte II (716-699 BC); the second one is related to the presence at Susa of a series of tablets containing a body of glyptic art broadly dated to ca. 625-550 BC. With the incorporation into this artistic frame of the material from Arjan, whose main body of evidence are dated here to the end of the 7th century BC and the beginning of the 6th century BC, we have presently the opportunity to articulate a new art historical framework for the late Neo-Elamite period.

TRADITIONAL ELAMITE PERIOD

The Traditional Elamite period is defined here as a phase of late Neo-Elamite artistic production whose general distinctiveness demonstrates continuity with artistic conventions previously developed in Elam.[579] The characteristics of this period remain overwhelmingly determined by the attributes of an energetic glazed industry represented at Susa and at the sanctuary of Surkh-I Dum (Luristan). The study of glazed architectural elements in Elam by S. Heim (1989) and a recent revision of the material from the Pusht-I Kuh region of Luristan by B. Overlaet (2003) grant the opportunity to reevaluate some of the material and determine basic stylistic characteristics as it regards to artistic expressions of western Elam.

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[579] There is a question as to the validity of using the term *period* to define artistic stages. At any rate, a period here is understood in the Hegelian sense, i.e. "a collective event in which individuals are subordinate to the whole" (Fernie 1995: 225).

III.9.1. THE TEMPLE OF INŠUŠINAK (SUSA ca.. 700 BC)

This small one-room chapel came to light in south-eastern edge of the Acropolis at Susa during the excavations of J. de Morgan in 1897-99 (trenches 7,8,13, 15 to 18; depth of c. 4 to 5.50 meters; De Mecquenem 1911: 72-73; P. de Miroschedji 1978: 213). The chapel facing the eastern side of the Ziggurat and its religious complex can barely be taken as a representative of traditional Elamite religious buildings (see plates 71, 72). This chapel, most likely the remains of what may have been a larger temple complex, is characterized by a nearly square building of 7.40 x 7.10 m (the inner *cella* being 5.10 x 5.10 m), with an opening towards the west ca. 2.10 m wide.[580] The walls are 1.3 m thick for the front wall and 1.0m for the three others (De Mecquenem 1911: 73). The temple was decorated inside out with green glazed bricks (Jecquier MDP I: 126).

Opposite the entrance, a square platform altar measuring 2.6 x 2.6 meters was built against the eastern wall (plate 63: 149-154). This altar was by combining five rows of bricks whose surface was glazed and decorated with alternating panels representing a schematic tree of life and various animals of real or composite nature (Amiet 1966: 518, fig. 395). According to the reconstruction of the altar by P. Amiet, the altar bears representations of a composite griffin-scorpion, a lioness, a griffin, horses, and topping the altar there are the remains of two griffin framing a stylized palmette (the animal standing on the fifth row is unclear) (Amiet 1966, fig. 395; 1967: 27; 1966, fig. 395; 1967: 27). These creatures are characterized by strong muscular bodies of rounded modeling and relative naturalistic rendering. Inside the temple's *cella* the pavement was covered with a layer of plaster and perhaps of green glazed walls (Jecquier 1900: 126-128). The inner and outer walls of the sanctuary incorporated polychrome glazed decorative elements including plaques, bricks, and wall knobs[581] (Amiet 1967; *RCS* 206: 144). Some of the bricks bear dedications to Inšušinak by Shutruk-Nahhunte II (716-699 BC) and his brother Hallutash-Inšušinak (698-693 BC). Since other bricks were found to be inscribed by the Middle-Elamite king Huteludush-Inšušinak (ca. 1120 BC) there is suggestion that the original temple may be of Middle Elamite date (Steve 1987: text 25; Jecquier 1900: 128; Heim 1992: 126) and that this temple may have incorporated the glazed bricks of the earlier period (Heim 1989: 42). A decorative pommel possibly found in the temple may indicate this temple was again restored by Shutruk-Nahhunte's successor Hallutash-Inšušinak (ca. 699-693) (see Steve 1987: text 25). According to a text[582] attributed to Shutruk-Nahhunte II (ca. 717-699 BC), we are informed that the *kukunnum* of the Elamite god Inšušinak had fallen into ruins and needed to be restored (De Morgan 1905: 34; Scheil 1904: 62-66).[583] After taking over kingship, Shutruk-Nahhunte II placed Inšušinak into a provisional location in order to restore the *kukunnum* (Scheil 1904: 62-66). The *kukunnum* refers to the temple topping the ziggurat (Vallat 1999: 34). F. Grillot suggests it may be similar to the *suhter*, perhaps a small room, niche or altar (Grillot 1983 in Caubet 2003: 327).

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[580] Measurements were verified twice by using both the scale provided both by J. de Morgan (1905: fig. 66) and the R. de Mecquenem's plan (MDP XII, 1911; see plan *Fouilles de Suse II éme niveau* 1896-1908). The walls were built with 0.31 x 0.31 x 0.05 quadrangular bricks.

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[581] Some of these knobs are small scale versions of the monumental Achaemenid capitals from the Apadana.

[582] For the identification of this document as a "foundation" text see Steve (1987: footnote 154).

[583] The temple appears to have been that of Inšušinak, one of the most important Elamite gods. He was the king and ruler of the underground in charge of determining the destiny of the death. Like his Mesopotamian homologue Nergal, in the world of the living he was the protector of vegetation and herds. During the Neo-Elamite period, and according to the funerary texts translated by V. Scheil (1916), Inšušinak was the Lord of the Afterlife (see Steve 1987: text 25, n. 1).

III.9.2. GLAZED INDUSTRY

The evidence from the small temple of Inšušinak which was richly decorated with glazed brick panels and knobs, and many containers made of glazed frit found in an array of funerary contexts demonstrates that the Elamite glazing industry flourished during the Neo-Elamite period (Heim 1989; 1992: 202-203; Caubet 2003). Jecquier lists 68 glazed objects found in the vicinity of the temple (today at the Louvre Museum, entry catalogue: AS 3193-3261), but since specific location of the objects is lacking in the archaeological reports, we are dependent on artistic and linguistic analysis for the dating of this material. This area in the vicinity of the glazed chapel combines fragments of glazed wall knobs inscribed to the time of Shilhak-Inshushinak (12th century BC) and some polychrome wall plaques inscribed by Shutruk-Nahhunte; the remaining objects are dated on stylistic grounds between the 12th century to the 8th century BC (Jecquier MDP I; Amiet 1967: 28, nt. 2; Heim 1989: 44). Additional glazed objects have been found in the Apadana and Ville Royale mounds (Heim 1989).

A general typological division between (1) decorative wall attachments (plaques and pegs or knobs) and (2) terracotta glazed containers (pyxides) can be attempted.[584] This division reveals that some objects replicate earlier forms: molded cylindrical boxes, small birds, and decorated bricks, while other present signs of innovation: incised square and conical boxes, figural protomes, and polychrome glaze-painted plaques and boxes[585] (Heim 1992: 202). During the late Neo-Elamite period different forms of glazed terracotta bottles became commonly associated with other burial goods and it is only during this period that glazed terracotta is favored for vessels.

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[584] For an in-depth study of all glazed elements see S. Heim (1989).

[585] Comparable objects have been found in Iron II-III Luristan: Surkh Dum, Chiggha Sabz, and Karkhai. See Heim 1992: 203, n. 19); see the section below: the Luristan Connection.

Wall Attachments: Glazed Polychrome Plaques and Pegs/Knobs[586]

Glazed architectural decorative elements in the shape of plaques and knobs provided semi-waterproofing and color to the wall surface (Heim 1989: 1). Other than protection of the wall surface, the functional role of some of these decorative elements was related to the locking and sealing of doors.[587] A religious commemorative role can also be observed (see Heim 1989: 9, 13, 26).

Two fragments of square polychrome glazed plaques had a dedication inscription in Akkadian by Shutruk-Nahhunte II (for an example see Amiet 1966: 300-301). Polychrome figurative glazed tiles representing the horned griffin (see plate 64: 155-160) are dated between the 10th and the 8th centuries BC (10th-9th centuries; Porada 1965: 70, fig. 44; Heim ca. 8th century, RCS 206, fig. 144; Amiet 8th century, Amiet 1966: 508, fig. 383; for examples see Amiet 1966: 508-512 and Heim 1986). Some of these plaques include what seems to be a horned heroic figure framed by two standing griffin. This figure and the acompaning hybrid have close parallels on unprovenanced Luristan material. R. de Mecquenem connected the walking bull with those appearing in the Tepe Sialk vases dated to the beginning of the Ist mill BC (Amiet 1966: 515, fig. 391; Porada 1963: 61; Heim 1989: 108: 34 a,b). A main stylistic element of the imagery found on the plaques is the treatment of the animal's body with its characteristic curvature of the neck and abstract division of the body, still very much reminiscent of the Luristan bronzes.

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[586] Glazed terracotta is often described as faience.

[587] W. Andrae has suggested that rows of wall nails found on the Assyrian palaces may have been used to anchor wall hangings such as sun protective mats (Andrae 1925, pl. I; idem 1930: 79-80; in Heim 1989: 30).

Plaque Sb 3354 [plate 80] is significant because of its compositional analogies with the Arjan "ring" motif and the seal engraved on the Persepolis bronze plate. This plaque presents a heraldic composition with two leaping bearded caprids standing on a central tree-of-life motif. The animals are elegant in their linear pose with graceful necks (Amiet 1966: 516, fig. 393; Heim 1989:128, fig. 48). S. Heim has indicated this plaque may have been part of a large composite arrangement made up of separate plaques showing various compositions combining animals, trees, and human figures (Heim 1989: 128).[588] These plaques have a knob hole so as to insert the plaques into a wall. P. Amiet dates it to the 8th century BC (with question mark). Iconographic similarities with the engraving in the bronze plaque from Persepolis and with the series of heraldic seals representing lions and horses framing a central motif represented on the seals from Susa (see seals below) suggest the lowering of P. Amiet's date to the 7th century. In addition, this plaque shares close analogies with the scene represented in the Arjan "ring." In particular the arms and legs position of the caprids, and the treatment of the small tree characterized by a divided central trunk with double volutes at each end supporting a palmette fan made of seven leaves,[589] indicates the imagery espoused in this plate may have served as a traditional precursor to the art developed during the Elamo-Assyrian period.

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[588] According to S. Heim plaques 48 through 54 are related in composition and manufacturing techniques. "Their close arrangement was no doubt aided by gashes made on the edges of the plaques, as seen on no. 48, perhaps for an adhesive to insure a tight and secure fit" (Heim 1989: 128).

[589] According to S. Heim (1989: 130), this short tree is a simple variation of second millennium BC Nuzi glyptic type of short tree.

A Group of nine yellow and green glazed knobs in the shape of fantastic animals such as crouching anthropomorphic bulls (see plate 74) and winged horses (see plate 75) were found by R. de Mecquenem under the palace of Darius in the Apadana and in Ville Royale II (AS 3211-3214; 3223; 3261; 3297' 6390. 6395; all mentioned in Amiet 1967: 30, nt. 2); Some were also found in the Acropole (trench 16), next to the small square temple. P. Amiet identified nine examples of protome knob figurines found in trench 16 (Amiet 1967: 30, Heim 1989: 201). The function of these objects was to hold in place pierced polychrome glazed plaques or to be used alone for supporting door bolts (Heim 1989: 200). The bull protomes are the most numerous and, according to Heim, "they must have been made by different workshops or at least by different artisans" (Heim 1989: 204). These protomes prefigure the Achaemenid capital with addorsed bulls.

Crouching bull (AS 9614) has a tubular body with crouching legs and two holes on the side allowing for a pin. The bull's horns are disposed almost horizontally, the muffle is fleshy and broad, and the nape of the neck has a long mane curled at the end. Two long curls drop from the ears to the front of the neck. This type of bull is rather similar to the ones appearing in glazed cylindrical vase Sb 411 [see plate 79], dated late 8th-7th century BC (see below, Amiet 1967: 382; Heim 1989: 204, fig. 113).[590] The bull protome from Chigha Sabz in Luristan and dated Iron III [see plate 82] is related to this series (Heim 1989: 205). S. Heim proposes the 8th century BC to this group of bull protomes 113-114 (Heim 1989: 207).

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[590] Amiet adds to this corpus fragment Sb 3352. This plaque represents a heroic figure standing between two leaping animals standing on couching griffins. He also includes some of the Luristan horse accoutrements.

A variation of the bull fitting knob theme is a knob in the shape of a crouching sphinx with a human head or bull-gods (see plate 81). Bovine deities in the shape of knobs combine a "tall triple-horned crown with bovine ears, bearded human face with ears, and long side curls" (Heim 1989: 212, figs. 124-127). Some of these knobs are dated to the end of the 8th century BC while others may perhaps be contemporary with the bull protome and an incised cylindrical vessel, excavated at Surkh Dum and dated to the first half of the 7th century BC [see plate 82].

Belonging to the same series are fitting wall knobs made in the shape of winged horses or winged bulls with a long mane and an elongated and narrow neck and fine head (see plate 75: 160-161; Amiet 1967: 34). They call to mind the horses from the Inshushinak altar (and a rython found by Ghirshman in MDP 36, 1954, pl. XX (1) and XXXII). S. Heim proposes different workshops and time periods for these protomes (Heim 1989: 224).

Winged protome Sb 6708 bears an inscription mentioning Shutur-Nahunte son of Huban Nimena and has been taken by P. Amiet as guide to date the bull protome decorative knobs and the glazed cylindrical vase (Amiet 1966: 491; Lambert 1966: 47-51; Heim 1989: 61). This Shutur-Nahunte has been taken by many to have been Shutur-Nahhunte II who may have lived ca. 692-689 BC. But according to F. Vallat the reign of Shutur-Nahhunte II son of Huban-mena III should instead be dated to ca. 645-620 BC, or after the destruction of Susa by Assurbanipal. S. Heim notes the similarities between this sphinx and the one represented in the square faience pyxis from the Apadana, suggesting an early Neo-Elamite date for this container and thus the inscribed protome (Heim 1989: 219-220).

Finally, we should include here the famous plaque carved on a bitumen compound representing the spinning lady (9.3 cm x 13 cm), dated to 9th century by E. Porada and 8th to the 7th century BC by P. Amiet and O. Muscarella (Amiet 1966: 540, fig. 413; RCS 200, fig. 141).

Glazed Terracotta Containers

A Neo-Elamite date is securely established for the polychrome glazed terracotta vases found in the Apadana (as in Amiet 1966: 502, fig. 377; Heim 1989: 45). A faience square box with female heads [see plate 79] pyxis Sb 2810 has been studied at length (Heim 1989: 59; RCS 207). This box was carved in low relief with double representations on opposite sides of a bearded sphinx and a lion griffin flanking a tree. In Luristan a similar pyxis was excavated at Karphai and dated to the 8th century BC (Porada 1965: 70-72; Muscarella 1974b: 248-249, in Heim 1992: 208). E. Porada, followed by S. Heim, has connected this object with the Luristan bronze beakers dated to the 10th -9th century BC (Heim 1989: 220). Amiet however suggests the 8th-7th centuries (1966: 498-499, fig. 375).

A glazed cylindrical vase Sb 411 (see plate 79; Amiet 1966: 501; fig. 376) with incised decoration representing two leaping bulls framing a sacred trees was found under the Apadana palace during the 1913-1914 excavations. Amiet compares the bull protome of the vessel with the larger bull protomes used in architectural decoration and dated by him to the late 8th-7th century BC (Heim 1989: 61).

III.9.3. THE URARTIAN CONNECTION

Pierre Amiet didn't fail to notice that the square plan cella and the altar-pedestal of the temple of Inshushinak were reminiscent of Urartian temples (Amiet 1973: 10).[591] The similarities inspired P. Amiet to consider the Susa temple to be an intermediary between the Urartian and the Fārs temple-towers [see plate 72]. In addition, and with the recent detailed publication of the Urartian site of Ayanis one can extend noted similarities on religious architecture to decorative motifs and practices.

The temple of the god Haldi at Ayanis was almost certainly built by the Urartian king Rusa II, a contemporary of the Assyrian kings Senancherib (705-680) and Esarhaddon (681-669) (Chilingiroglu and Salvini 2001: 20) and thus a likely contemporary of the Elamite king Shutruk-Nahhunte II (716-699 BC) and his brother Hallutash-Inšušinak (698-693 BC), builders and restorers of the temple of Inshushinak at Susa.

The walls of the 4.58 x 4.62 m cella inside the temple of Ayanis were decorated with intaglio motifs cut into the stone occupying the base of the walls [see plate 92]. The motifs used depicted rows of winged gods, winged sphinxes, and griffins alternating a schematic representation of the tree of life, a rosette (?), and some plants (?) (Chilingiroglu 2001, figs. 28-30). The temple's cella contained a 1.75 x 0.75 m altar or podium facing the entrance built up against the center of the east wall. The reconstruction of the podium reveals it to have been covered with alabaster stone blocks bearing decorations representing rows of animals. The better preserved top of the podium slabs were incised with composite animals inserted into a net of spiral branches of sacred trees. The composite animals which have been identified are rows of pairs of antithetic winged lions with scorpion tails, winged eagle headed lions with scorpion tails, and winged animals with divine heads and scorpion tails (for details see Chilingiroglu 2001: 43, figs 19-23). To be sure, there are marked differences between the Neo-Elamite temple at Susa and the Uratian temple at Ayanis. The obvious variation in materials helps to explain some of these differences. The traditional usage by the Elamites of mud brick and decorative glazed brick panels certainly contrasts with the usage by the Urartians of stone and intaglio and incised decorative motifs. But given the harsh conditions of the Urartian winter, dominated by snow and rain, and the harsh conditions of the southwestern Elamite summer, dominated by scorching heat, differences on material usage are not a surprise. Equally different are the stylistic rendering of the specific composite animals and vegetal decorations. But the general architectural plan (square cella with altar) and decorative program (rows of composite animals and deities alternating with a tree of life) follow a similar blueprint.

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[591] See Altintepe and Arin-Berd temples in Van Loon 1963: 43-57.

Further similarities between Urartian and Elamite artistic production is manifested by a number of isolated examples whose significance is difficult to evaluate [see plate 91]. The bronze shields of Argishti I (785/80-ca. 760) and Sarduri II (760-c. 730 BC) from Kamir Blur in the Armenian Historical Museum contains three registers combining passing lions and bulls (plate 81: Piotrovskii 1967: 17-18, figs. 4 and 5). The registers in these shields can be compared with Register I of the Arjan bowl which includes six alternating pairs of running lions and bulls. In addition, the parallels between the fortified city represented in register IV of the Arjan bowl and similar representations appearing in Urartian bronze belts (Kleiss 1982, 2003; Erzen 1988: 32, plate XXXIV, fig. b), and Assyrian contexts (Stronach 2004b) seem to portray a standard type of Zagros military architecture common to the 7th and early 6th centuries BC [see plate 91].

A 1.36 meter tall bronze candelabrum [plate 81] was found in the vicinity of the temple of Haldis at Toprak Kale bearing an inscription by the Urartian king Rusa (whether this is Rusa II the builder of Ayanis or Rusa III remains open to discussion). The Haldis temple contained the inscribed shields of Rusa III which may be indication that the candelabrum also belongs to the same king, a contemporary of Assurbanipal (Chilingiroglu and Salvini 2001: 24). This object has been discussed previously in connection with the Arjan candelabrum. It is a three legged shaft topped by a circular bowl. The shaft is decorated with bulbs of pendent leaves and stood on legs terminating in hooves spitted by lions' jaws. Three recumbent winged bulls with divine heads, similar to the ones appearing in the decorative walls of the Ayanis temple (Piotrovskii 1967: 34, fig. 20; Barnett 1950: 25, fig. 13; Wartke 1993: 154-155, figs. 29-30). Finally, a number of daggers from early Iron Age Armenia appear to be distantly related to the dagger found in Arjan (see Arjan Dagger).[592]

Table VI. Neo-Elamite, Urartian, and Achaemenid Monumental *Cella*

TEMPLE-STRUCTURE	CELLA	EXTERNAL DIMENSIONS	MATERIALS

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[592] E. Porada makes the case for contacts between Hasanlu and Elam; lion-pins and glazed wall tiles from Hasanlu to Elamite work; Also the presence of Persian Gulf shells found in a small structure between burned Building I and Burned Building II at Hasanlu (in Winter 1980: 24).

Altintepe (Urartian)	5.20 x 5.20 m	13.80 x 13.80 m courtyard 27 x 27 m	Mud-brick superstructure over finely cut and dressed basalt blocks[593]
Aznavur (Urartian)	5.03 x 5.03 m	13.63 m main facade	
Toprakkale (Urartian)	5.30 x 5.30 m	13.80 x 13.80 m	
Chavushtepe (Urartian)	4.50 x 4.50 m	10.00 x 10.00 m	
Kayalidere (Urartian)	5.00 x 5.00 m	12.50 main facade 2.00 and 2.10 m doorway	Massive stone-blocks of irregular masonry[594]
Ayanis (Rusahinili)	4.58 x 4.62	12.45 x 13 m	Mud brick superstructure over 2 or 3 courses of finely cut and dressed blocks of andesite stone[595]
Shutruk-Nahhunte's temple at	5.10 x 5.10 m	7.10 x 7.40 m	Mud brick

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[593] Burney 1977: 117.

[594] Burney 1966: 69.

[595] Gilingiroglu 2001: 39-40

Suse (Elamite)			
Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae (Achaemenid)	3.17 x 2.11 x 2.11 m	6.40 x 5.35 m	Stone
Zendan-i Suleiman (Achaemenid)	3.21 x 3.98 x 4.73 m	7.32 x 7.32 m	Stone

To sum up, the significance of the noted parallels between Urartian and Elamite art is a thorny issue. Definite relationships seem to exist between the Urartian, the Elamite, and the Persian temples/towers (see chart above)[596] but the possible adoption by the neo-Elamites of an Urartian-type architecture remains unexplainable at the moment, as the date and the reason for the adoption by the Persians of this unique Urartian architectural form (Stronach 1967: 285). The fact that Urartu and Elam were both important enemies of the Assyrian empire and that both sought to extend their political control over the Zagros presents an interesting base in which to speculate about a possible political alliance between both powers.[597] A number of fragmentary snapshots of political history reflect the strategic importance of the Zagros polities in the wars between the great powers of the Neo-Elamite period[598] yet direct textual evidence to sustain Elamite and Urartian relationships is lacking.[599] In addition, the noted similarities between motifs found in the Arjan bowl the Urartian shields (passing lions and bulls), the Urartian series of fortification scenes, and the composition of the candelabra, although intriguing, do not necessarily attest to direct artistic influence yet, this evidence suggests a certain artistic "globalism" whose networks channels remain to be articulated.[600]

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[596] What characterizes these buildings is their "extremely thick walls and a square, central cella" (Stronach 1967: 278).

[597] Between Urartu and Elam was the 'Median' county of Harhar and the country of Ellipi. In ca. 784-783 the Urartian king Argishti I had conducted a military campaign against Parsua to secure their Zagros southern frontier. It is highly probable that Parsua entered into the Urartian sphere of influence thereafter as a tributary state until the accession of Tiglash-pileser III (Lanfranchi 2003: 102, n. 97). During the time of Sargon the country of Harhar

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appealed to the king of Ellipi after expelling the pro-Assyrian ruler in 708-707 BC (Fuchs 1994). Let us remember that in the battle of Halulê (691 BC) Parsua was a member of the coalition put together by the Elamite king Huban-menanu.

[598] Ellipi might have represented a powerful ally for Elam serving as intermediary between Elam and its northern Zagros neighbors (Luckenbill 1924: 28 ii, 11-12; Fuchs 1994: 171-181).

[599] Three fragmentary Elamite texts were found in the citadel at Argišti-hinili (in Armenia, present day Armavir-blur). Earlier interpretations of the documents as an Elamite version of the Gilgameš epic (Diakonoff-Jankowska 1990) were refuted by Vallat (1997b; and 1995b) who, despite the archaeological stratum pointing to the eight and seventh centuries BC (Diakanoff-jankowska 1990: 103), indicates that the largest fragment represents a private letter dated to 550-520 BC. M.-J. Steve dates these to 509-494 BC (Steve 1992: 24; see also Henkelman 2003: 200). This later date would suggest an Elamite presence in Armenia at the time of Cyrus (the conquest of Armenia by Cyrus is considered as unproven by Briant, 2000: 44). Conversely, this 'letter may be a private document unconnected to the official administration (Henkelman 2003: 200).

[600] The Assyrian reliefs representing Assurbanipal's victory over Te-uman link the destinies of Urartu and Elam. In particular, the selective presence of Urartian nobles points out to a certain involvement of the Urartians in the conflict (Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998: Plate 304-305). According to the inscription on slab 6, Assurbanipal states that the Urartian king Rusa "heard of the strength of Ashur, my lord, and fear of my kingship overwhelmed him; he sent his nobles to ask (about) my health" (Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998: 97, 386). It is apparent that the Urartian nobles mentioned by Assurbanipal in slab 6 are those standing directly across in slab 5. These two individuals are identified by a conical cap and long ceremonial dress (Reade 1976, plate 22, fig. 2). The suggestion they represent the Jewish populations from the Hebrew tribes deported from Samaria to Elam should be dismissed (see Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998: 96). One should wonder whether the single unarmed individual wearing a conical cap and a kind of shawl around his shoulder or breast pulling the arm of a wounded (or dead?) Elamite represents the limited participation of an Urartian contingent (see Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998: Plate 291, figure 381b). The conical cap is certainly very similar to that appearing over the head of an (Urartian?) rebel in iron fetters wearing the head of an Elamite (Te-uman?) as a necklace (see Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998: Plate 313, figure 385c). In sum, the suggestion may be made, that at least some members

III.9.4. THE LURISTAN CONNECTION

During the Neo-Elamite period, an area bordering the northwest of Elam was known as the Zagros kingdom of Ellipi.[601] More specifically, Medvedskaya has indicated that the Pish-i Kuh area of Luristan corresponds to the ancient kingdom of Ellipi (Medvedskaya 1994: 63-64) while the Pusht-i Kuh may have corresponded to the "Parnakias" mentioned by Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) together with the Ellipi as dangerous enemies of Assyria (Zadok 1981-82: 135 in Overlaet 2003: 233). Directly connected to the series of glazed decorative elements from Susa there is a small corpus of objects found in Iron II-III contexts of Luristan: Surkh Dum, Chiggha Sabz, and Karkhai (see Heim 1992: 203, n. 19). Some of this material has been recently reviewed by Overlaet who provides new perspectives and chronology for the appreciation of the important but hardly understood material from Luristan (Overlaet 2003). The material from the Surkh-i Dum sanctuary, in particular, presents close analogies with Neo-elamite faience pottery, as represented during the reign of Shutruk-Nahhunte II (Overlaet 2003: 34-37, fig. 23; Heim 1989: 61-64). The distinctive culture of Iron Age Luristan is perhaps best known through a production of bronzes know as the "Luristan bronzes." Despite the more than 350 publications on the subject and worthy attempts to understand this material, the Luristan Bronzes remain an enigma (see Muscarella 1988: 33). "We know so little about the people that made these bronzes and about the bronzes themselves that an intelligible archeological history of the Luristan bronze industry cannot at present be written"(Muscarella 1988: 33) . Out of many

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of the Urartian elite shared some blame on their attempted (or real?) alliance with Te-uman against Assurbanipal.

[601] On Ellipi's boundaries see Levine (1974: 104-106), Chamaza (1994: 102) and Medvedskaya (1994: 57-59).

thousands of "Luristan" bronzes distributed in public and private collections throughout the world, only a small number have been excavated and published. Those found in archaeological excavations serve to set the chronological standards (see Luristan excavations above; for the references see Vanden Berghe 1979; the *HEL* and *LED* I, II, and III volumes, also Moorey 1971; Muscarella 1988, 1989; Overlaet 2003, in particular 34-37). "These bronzes appear to be the culmination of a long-lived tradition of bronze casting and sheet metal working ranging from the third millennium down to the seventh century BC" (Pigott 1999: 91-92).[602]

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[602] Bronze is the child of tin and copper. In its classic form, bronze containes 10 % of tin and 90 %of copper. The addition of even 2 % of tin affects the hardness of copper and anything over 16 % tin is undesirable. For instance the famous "vase a la cachette" yielded four bronzes with over 5% of tin (Moorey 1994: 253-254 in Pigott 1999: 80). To date, we still do not know where the tin and the copper came from. At an early age, copper may have reached lowland Khuzistan either from Oman or from the Anarak mining district, in the north-central part of the Dash-i Lut (Pigott 1999: 80-81). Some authors however have favored two adjacent mineral deposits in the Anarak region, the Talmesi and Meskani deposits, as the primary sources of copper for Khuzistan during the 3rd millennium BC (see Pigott 1999: 79 with references). A geographical survey recorded over 200 deposits and at least twelve major copper-rich zones in the highland zones of Iran. In addition there were a total of 241 copper deposits reported to be found in Afghanistan (Ladame 1945; Bazin and Hubner 1969; in Pigott 1999: 81). Tin however is very rare. The only reference to the presence of tin in Iran is in conjunction with the northeastern part of the Iranian-Afghani geological border (tin is found in two geological regions of Afghanistan, the Kanadhar-Badakhshan band and the Sistan-Herat band; Stockin et al. 1972: 58 in Pigott 1999: 81). The abundance of copper and the availability of tin in this area gives rise to the speculation that "this region may have been the 'heartland' for the early development of bronze metallurgy" (see Pigott 1999: 81). Archaeological evidence from Tepe Hissar, Tepe Sialk, and Shahdad suggest there were full time metalworking workshops in these locations at least during the second half of the third millennium. Yet, the Iranian Plateau appears to have maintained its arsenical copper traditions during the Bronze Age, adding additional justification to the belief that the presence of tin bronze in Mesopotamia indicates that tin from Afghanistan was being 'by-passed' by metalworkers in major Bronze Age urban centers on the Iranian Plateau (Pigott 1999: 86-87). By the beginning of the second millennium and thanks to the texts from both Kanesh and Mari, we have a better picture of the various sources, routes, and markets for tin and copper. We also know that the control of these routes determined much of the geopolitical strategies and expansionistic adventures of the periods. Tin at this time entered Mesopotamia through two main commercial emporiums, one in Assur which in turn traded with Kanesh, and later, during the Old Babylonian period, one at Assur and Eshnunna, which traded with Anatolia and the southern Mesopotamian cities of Sippar, Babylona and Larsa and one at Susa which traded with Susa and then on to Alep and Ugarit. The conquest of Eshnunna by Elam during the 18th century may suggest the attempted control of tin imports into Anatolia and southern

It is easy to recognize a Luristan bronze but to articulate in detail levels of interaction between Luristan and the Neo-Elamite period can be challenging since much of what we know about Luristan is speculative. Where did the raw materials come from? Did the bronze originate from war spoils? How was the technology developed? What function do bronzes perform in a funerary setting? Why is there is so large a proportion of horse and weapon related bronze paraphernalia among these bronzes? Why is there no writing in Luristan? What are the geo-political implications of having a bronze producing center in Luristan during the Neo-Elamite period? These questions invite further reevaluation of the social and economic impact of the production of bronze during the Neo-Elamite period.

Mesopotamia by Elam (see Joannes 1991; Charpin and Durand 1991). The presence at Susa of outstanding bronze objects such as the Napirisu bronze statue, the bronze sacrificial snake table, the two large bronze cylindrical poles over 14 feet in length (14th century BC) and the Sit-Shamsi ceremonial plate (12th century BC), bear witness to the great skill of the Elamite metalworkers and to the might of the Elamite empire. This wealth sharply contrasts with the absence of remains of bronze sculpture from the Neo-Elamite period.

III.9.5. THE ELAMITE RENAISSANCE PERIOD (ca. 625-ca 550 BC)

The Elamite renaissance period, as documented by a corpus of seals and sealings from Susa and Luristan, the burial from Arjan, and a few orphaned sculptural remains, presents a synthesis of Elamite, Assyrian-Babylonian, Luristan-Zagros, and Iranian traditions. Taken altogether, this documentation bear witness to a period of fruitful cultural interaction among peoples living in territories associated with the Elamite civilization. This heterogeneity of artistic elements integrated within an Elamite context should be taken as a chief characteristic of this art. The proposal that we withness a "renaissance' of Elamite art should be understood in the frame of a cultural response to two main factors: the political shakeup of Elam, as a consequence of the wars and their ensuing defeat at the hands of Assyria, and the progressive integration of Iranian speaking populations into the Elamite political and cultural systems. The arrival of Iranian tribes into the Zagros mountains and Elamite territory by the second half of the second millennium BC begin to change the traditional 'ethnic' makeup of Elam.[603] Populations of Iranian origin appear in the archaeological record of the Zagros Mountain range since the 15th century BC (Labat 1975: 380; Miroschedji 1985: 289; 1990: 69-70). Towards the beginning of the Iron Age II (9th century BC) they may have reached the Mahi Dašt plain (Miroschedji 1990: 70). As shown by the presence of an Iranian-named king in the Ellipi throne during the civil war of 708-707 BC (Ašpa-bara), it is probable, although still to be documented, that these Iranians may have gradually mixed with the Elamite populations of Eastern Elam sharing in common a pastoral way of life. The fusion of both 'ethnic' elements may have created a new group characterized by a dual Elamo-Iranian identity. A comparable process of acculturation can be posited between Elamites and Aramean speakers inhabiting the Sealand territories of southern Babylon. Underlining the Elamite renaissance was a shakeup of traditional habits and a new spirit proclaiming the emergence of political, economic, social, and cultural paradigms dominated by the figure of the horseman.

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[603] For a discussion of ethnicity and the 'ethnic' makeup of Elam see Appendix Ii: Considering Ethnicity During The Neo-Elamite Period.

III.9.5. SCULPTURE AND OPEN-AIR SANCTUAIRES

A number of scattered objects of uncertain chronology found under the Apadana palace and possibly contemporary with the Susa tablets are said to be characteristic of the Elamite Renaissance period (Amiet 1967: 43). P. Amiet indicated this "art nouveau" to be characterized by a new artistic spirit identified by a *réalisme maniéré.*

This "art nouveau" is represented by the glazed green head of a goddess (see plate 87; Louvre Sb 6659; Amiet 1966: 492, fig. 369; 1967: 41, fig. Pl. VI, 1a-b) sharing similarities with two heads of a shaved male (Louvre Sb 6659, Amiet 1967: 41; figs. 12a and 13a) and two wall-nails shaped as cylindrical bodies of an individual resting on his elbows with fists framing the head (Louvre Sb 3587, Amiet 1967: 42, figs. 12b and 13b). Another female head, sometimes identified as the head of a queen, bears a crenellated-type crown very similar to that appearing at Naqsh-i Rustem (Louvre Sb 3081; Amiet 1967: 43, Pl. VI, 2 a-b). This head is considered to be late Elamite or Achaemenid (Spycket 1980: 44, pl. xxv, fig. 8; in Heim 1989: 202).

The Stele of Atta-Hamiti-Inšušinak

In our review of Neo-Elamite inscriptions we have seen that the inscription in Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak identifies him as son of Hutran-tepti, king of Anšan and Susa (EKI 86-89). The identification, and thus the dating, of this individual remains a matter of much discussion. Mesopotamian texts do not mention an Elamite king with such a name. However he has been identified as a successor to king Halkatash which is tentatively identified as king Humban-haltash (see Potts 1999: 297; and references by Tavernier 2004: 22 for expanding comments). A possible candidate for Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak is the Elamite king whom the Assyrians knew as Attametu whose reign may be placed between 653-648 BC (Muscarella 1992: 199). F. Vallat, instead, locates Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak in the last quarter of the seventh century BC (Vallat 1996: 391). Waters, seconded by Tavernier, proposes the possibility that Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak was Atamaita (Waters 2000: 85; and references by Tavernier 2004: 24), an Elamite leader who, according to the Bisitun inscription, rebelled against Darius I in 520 BC. At any rate, the inscription reveals that Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak's concerns and areas of activity reached beyond Susa and included southern and eastern Khuzistan, in particular local polities such as Huhnur, situated along the route between Susiana and Fārs, near the Behbehan region (Miroshedji 1990: 51 and 53 fnt. 5). Huhnur, may have controlled the regions of Izeh and penetrated towards the Bakhtiary territory (Zagarell 1982 : 49). According to some authors, Huhnur appears to have been controlling Fārs as well (see Stéve in Duchene 1986: 66; and Stolper 1986: 238). In sum, the chronological core of this relief is placed between the 653 and 520 BC.

The reconstructed stele of Adda-Hamiti-Inšušinak (Louvre Sb 16) is made up of six different fragments. The detailed representation of a Neo-Elamite male and female headdress, upper garment, and bracelets[604] add additional information to our knowledge of the royal dressing styles and accouterments of the period, whatever the period might be (see Muscarella 1992: 198). Despite the description of the stele by E. Porada (1971:30), the standard illustration made by U. Seidl and published by Calmeyer (1976: 57, Abb. 2) includes a number of important inaccuracies which have been addressed in a new drawing made by this author (see plates 15 and 16). The particular focus of this reconstruction rests on the distinctive patterns of the king's garments. This outfit lays over broad shoulders and narrow waist. The upper part is made of a short sleeve garment covered with strips of an embroidered pattern made of two rows of slender triangles pointing toward the middle where there are four circles.[605] Below this area, perhaps as part of a different type of garment (a scarf?), runs a piece of cloth made of a border of frills and strips composed of squares containing discs. Below the frills of the skirt there seems to be a delicate geometrical ornamentation. In addition, the king wears a bracelet made of opposing frontal feline heads matching those found in Luristan (Amiet 1966; Porada 1971: 30l; Muscarella 1992: 199, fig. 140). A description for the stele is provided by Muscarella (1992: 198).

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[604] The bracelet decorated with frontal feline heads match those found in Luristan (see Amiet 1966 and Muscarella 1992: 199, fig. 140).

[605] E.Porada suggests similarities between this motif and the rows of triangles appearing on the robe of queen Napirasu {Porada 1971: 30).

NEO-ELAMITE OPEN-AIR SANCTUARIES

The Izeh/Malamir Sanctuaires

The exceptional, almost numinous, properties of the setting where the Izeh/Malamir reliefs are located cannot be stressed enough. In contrast to the arid steppe of the lowland, the Izeh plain has high rainfall and excellent grazing. Near the Izeh-Malamir plain oak trees cover the mountain slopes, and no doubt, oak forests were at least as extensive in the mid-fifth millennium BC (Wright, 1987: 144). In present day Izeh seasonal streams and permanent springs wash down from the surrounding cliffs towards the lake occupying the central part of the plain. Distributed throughout the Izeh/Malamir plain are a total of twelve Elamite reliefs carved in four different locations: four in Shekaf-e Salman (SS), six in Kul-e Farah (KF), one in Sha Savar, and one in Xong-e Azdar.[606] The reliefs from Shah Savar and Xong-e Azdar fall into the Old Elamite period (20th - 17th century BC; De Waele 1981: 50 - 52). Most scholars agree in the dating of all reliefs from SS to between 1200 and 1100 BC (end of the Middle-Elamite Period III; se Potts 1999: 252, with ref.). The reliefs from Kul-i Farah, however, present a number of chronological problems. KF I is to be dated Neo-Elamite according to the Hanni inscription but there is still lack of consensus as to the date of K-F II, III, IV, V, and VI. E. De Waele has dated all the reliefs from Kul-e Farah to the Neo-Elamite period or, more precisely, to the first half of the 6th century BC (KF II) the 8th-7th centuries (K-F III), the 9th century (K-F IV), the mid 6th century (K-F V), and the 8th century for K-F VI (de Waele 1981: 52). L. Vanden Berghe suggested a general 8th-7th century dates for all reliefs, including those of SS

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[606] For a review of the exploration of the site see Vanden Berghe 1963.

(Vanden Berghe 1984: 102-103). And P. Amiet, advocated a late Middle Elamite period date, ca. post 1104 BC and proposed the reliefs to be the manifestation of a local monarchy that developed in eastern Elam after the invasion of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar I or perhaps slightly latter, to the beginning of the first millennium BC (Amiet 1992: 86-87).

The Izeh-Malamir reliefs have been dealt by De Waele in a number of publications (De Waele 1972, 1973, 1979, 1981, 1989). Unfortunately, a systematic, comprehensive study, including suitable drawings and photographs of all carvings, is missing from these studies, therefore making the reliefs poorly known. In addition, this situation is further complicated by the absence of excavated archeological remains from Izeh/Malamir and by the lack of proper conservation of the quickly decaying reliefs. A brief visit during the month of March 2003 convinced this author that much work remains to be done in regards to the preservation, recording, and chronological reconciliation of the reliefs.[607]

In a general way, the reliefs portray liturgical ceremonies held in the sanctuary of Kul-i Farah. The ceremonies may have involved a procession to the sanctuary, the sacrifice of animals, and a banquet. Given extraordinary acoustic properties of this site, these activities may have been accompanied by music and perhaps songs and recitation.[608]

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[607] This author spent a week in March 2003 at Izeh/Malamir in the company of Iranian Archaeologist Jaffar Mehrkian. To date, the reliefs remain unprotected from weather conditions and vandalism. As time goes by, the rate of decay has increased exponentially. Publications have failed to submit detailed records of the reliefs.

[608] Not unlike an amphitheatre, the physical makeup of Kul-i Farah, which is characterized by high cliff walls on the sides of the gorge surrounding the reliefs, make this site an ideal place for musical and recitation performances.

The summary analysis and observations offered here pertain only to KF I, the only carving whose Neo-Elamite date remains undisputed. This date is based on the king Hanni inscription running through the surface of the relief which could be dated to the NE IIIB (585-539 BC) (Vallat 1997e: 268 in Potts 1999: 295 and 301) or within the seventh century BC (Stolper 1990: 279),[609] while Tavernier pleads for an earlier date on the grounds of graphic and linguistic differences (Tavernier 2004: 19, 21). At this regard, it is important the seal of Hupan-kitin, son of Shutur Nahunte II (see Neo-Elamite glyptic, seal 12 *) may have belonged to the king Šutur Nahhunte mentioned in the Hanni inscription. Stylistically and iconographically, this seal belongs to a royal Elamite workshop dated to the end of the 7th century BC beginning of the 6th century BC. Similarities in composition and style with the heraldic motif from the Arjan 'ring' which should be dated mid 7th century BC, or slightly latter, establishes a chronological frame for this seal. In Tavernier's chronological reconstruction the Elamite king of Šutur Nahhunte, son of Indada and father of Huban-kitin, was king of Susa during the last quarter of the 7th century BC (Tavernier 2004: 21). Steve proposes a date around 653-605 (Steve 1992: 22). P. de Miroschedji places it in the first half of the 6th century BC (Miroschedji 1982: 61); and F. Vallat supports a date in the NE III B period (ca. 585-ca. 539 BC, Vallat 1996b: 393).

The stone relief from Kul-i Farah I representing Hanni, king of Aiapir and vassal of the Elamite king Shutur-Nahunte (see plate 79: 204) provides indication of the style of garment characteristic of the Neo-Elamite period at Aiapir. Although the relief surface has been extensively damaged there is indication of fine detailed facial hair made of elegant small loops. Hanni has a characteristic long braid ending on a circular contour.[610] The king wears a garment made of an upper short sleeve cloth covered by a long *à volants* cloth divided by borders of long frills and strips of rosettes. He wears a wide belt divided into at least four sections, perhaps indicating the presence of a long piece of material encircling the waist. The lower part of the dress is divided in two parts: a short skirt probably belonging with the upper garment and a long skirt which reaches down to boot-level. Both garments are decorated with a long border frill and wide strips of rosettes. The headdress however cannot be clearly identified from recent photographs taken by this author. According to some of the earliest photographs available taken ca. 1900 the individual appears to wear a cap similar to the so-called 'Phrygian bonnet' which has been associated with the Persian soldiers and the magi-priests. Other authors identified this headdress as a bulbous hat reminiscent of the headdress of Ummanaldaš (i.e. Humban-haltash III, son of Attametu , perhaps Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak; Potts 1999: 281-283) the Elamite king who lost Susa to Assurbanipal (Reade 1976: Taf. 28, BM 124793, BM 124794).

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[609] In Tavernier's chronological reconstruction the Elamite king of Susa Šutur Nahhunte, son of Indada and father of Huban-kitin, was king of Susa during the last quarter of the seventh century BC (Tavernier 2004: 21).

The Kurangun Sanctuary

The sanctuary of Kurangun is located about midway between Susa and Anshan (Tal-i Malyan). The stone relief was carved on a spectacular location, 60 m. high above the river valley, on the side of a rocky cliff, overlooking a sharp bend in the Fahlian river [see plate 83]. [611] Ten kilometers distant from Kurangun there is the small site of

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[610] Damage on the surface relief does not permit to determine whether or not this braid is double (i.e. there are two braids or one).

[611] The particular choice of location is most significant. Most Elamite and Achaemenid-Persian cultic places were located near main roads, springs, caves or lakes (e.g. Beistun, Taq-i-Bustan, the Izeh/Malamir reliefs). These locations imply that certain sites were

Tulaspid with attested Middle Elamite remains of a temple by Shilhak-Inšušinak (Vanden Bergue, 1966:56; forthcoming publication by D. Potts).[612] The central motif of the Old Elamite relief is a male god and his female consort[613] acting as the source of streaming flowing waters which he dispenses to a set of worshipers.[614] The ground level under the relief contains representations of a basin with 26 fish swimming in different directions.[615] Accordingly, it would appear there is a triple implied association between the divine couple as the source of water, the water of the basin with its fish, and the actual water of the river valley flowing down below, at the foot of the relief. The *mise-en-scene* of the main relief: the staircase with the descending worshipers, and of the basin with the fish, add a three dimensional unity and quality to the composition. It is clear from the unique emplacement of the relief that, even in its original version, the small panel measuring 1.6 x 3.65 m and its contents were not made to be visible from the bottom of the valley.[616] Instead, the eroded southern path on the mountain flank

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considered to be of cultic significance for their natural properties and that addition of carvings nearby was just a manifestation of this value.

[612] I visited the site in March 2003. The top of the mound above the relief contained a number of illegally excavated trenches already noticed by D. Potts in 2002 (personal communication). A superficial look at the trenches revealed the presence of stone made rectangular rooms covered with plaster.

[613] Concerning the identification of the divine couple see Vanden Bergue (1986:159). W. Hinz identified him as Humban and Pinikir or Humban and Kiririsha, P. Amiet saw Napirisha (=GAL), Miroschedji Išušinak, F. Grillot and F. Vallat Napirisha and Kiririsha, the divine Anzanite couple. Vanden Berghe (1986) prefers Napirisha and Kiririsha. See also U. Seidl (1986).

[614] The main characteristics of the male god can be reduced to five elements: (1) He is sitting on throne made by one or more a lobed "serpents"; (2) He is holding one or two serpents; (3) He holds the ring and rod from which originate (4) two streams of flowing waters and; (5) he wears a unique conical helmet capped by two horns and two bovine ears; Behind him (or next to him) sits the female goddess.

[615] According to P. de Miroschedji (1981: 9, n. 27) parts of the relief appear to be unfinished. "The ring and rod seem to have been sketched and the ring was not emptied out" and he adds: "that's why all the commentators of this monument saw a flowing vase."

[616] The only way to have a clear view of the whole relief is by standing directly across it. That is, to walk by the edge of the cliff to a small ledge situated on the opposite side. Otherwise the access to the relief is made by descending the stone staircase but then, one

indicates cultic processions. Regular pilgrimage to worship the Elamite divine couple may have be the common way to interact with this cultic place.[617]

The importance of the Kurangun relief is of enormous value when it comes to assessing the uniqueness of Elamite artistic and cultural identities.[618] N. Debevoise was the first to asses the chronological differences between the two scenes represented on the Kurangun relief. Accordingly, the central panel with its frontally depicted individuals is placed in the Old Elamite period (Sukkalmah period, around 18th century BC)[619] while the pigtailed worshippers going down the stairs and their leaders arranged in profile belong to the Neo-Elamite period (Devoise 1942).

The added Neo-Elamite part of the relief combines four male individuals on the right hand of the main panel and three groups of about 40 characteristic pigtailed male worshippers represented as descending three staircases in the direction of the central panel (Vanden Berghe 1986, fig. 2 nos. 9,10,11,12). [620] In addition, there are three pairs of pigtailed male worshipers standing in front of the previous ones (Vanden Berghe 1986, fig. 2 nos. 14-15, 16-17, 18-19), and a male individual with short hair

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stands inside the "pool chamber" and becomes part of the scene. While on site, this author intentionally and unsuccessfully looked for clues supporting the possibility that an enclosure may have effectively made this relief part of a sacred chamber comprising a basin containing water.

[617] See photographs published in U. Seidl (1986).

[618] The relief was photographed, designed, and described first by E. Herzfeld in 1924. The design was rectified by L. Vanden Berghe during fieldwork in 1975 and 1979 (Vanden Berghe 1984) and, again, by Ursula Seidl through a detailed study of the relief published in 1986.

[619] For the central panel some scholars favor the end of the third millennium (Debevoise, H. Von der Osten, L Vanden Berghe and W. Hinz.). Most scholars though prefer the first half of the second millennium, specifically the 17th century BC (Amiet, Hansman, de Mirochedji, Vanden Bergue, Carter and Stolper) or the Middle Elamite period (Porada, Vanden Bergue, Seidl, Borker-Klahn, Calmeyer and Amiet).

[620] It is unclear whether the staircase itself, which is made of three flights of stairs coming down from the summit of the hill and presently ends at the baseline of the relief (about 60 cm above the ground level), was part of the original composition or was added latter with the worshippers.

wearing a long tunic which leads all previous groups to the main panel (Vanden Berghe 1986, fig. 2 no. 13). Individuals 9 to 12 are represented frontally with their hands probably held together at the waist level and wearing a short tunic. Similarly represented individuals appear in the Elamite reliefs of Kul-i Farah I, II, and IV, Shikaft-i Salman I and II, and Naqs-i Rustam (Vanden Berghe 1986: 161, n. 15). The pigtailed individuals are represented in profile with their arms extended, but probably with their hands held together at the waist level. They wear a short tunic held at the waist by a belt. To most scholars these pigtailed individuals are a Neo-Elamite addition.

Similarities between the pigtail worshipers from Kul-e Farah and the Kurangun relief reveals a possible similar date for the manufacture of the reliefs. According to the techniques of execution of the relief exposed by Vanden Berghe, (1986: 161) the rock was first cut down to create a straight perpendicular flat face. The relief was carved on the stone and plastered with a layer of clay or bitumen.[621] Some details of the faces (hair, beard, eyes and ear) and clothes were engraved with the help of a cutting object. "This technique couldn't have been practiced over the rock directly but only over a layer of clay" (Vanden Berghe 1986: 161). The remains of some residue of this layer is still visible on some of the carved individuals.[622] A similar technical approach was taken in the Izeh/Malamir reliefs (see below).[623] The arrangement of the ponytail worshipers along a staircase may be seen as an inspiration-prototype for the monumental reliefs of worshippers at Persepolis.

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[621] It is most unlikely that a clay surface plaster would have survived. Perhaps a combination of clay and bitumen (or bitumen alone) should be considered. The best way to know however will be to analyze a small sample of the plaster.

[622] For instance, the eye, the belt and the bottom of the long dress of individual 13, on the left of the main scene. According to Vanden Berghe, these carving techniques used over specific details of the body passed on to the Achaemenids and the Sassanians.

[623] In particular at KF III, the fourth individual of the 4th line from the left reveals the incised details of his hair, beard, and tunic (Vanden Berghe 1963: 31, plate XIX). Also at KF IV there is indication of a layer of polychrome clay plaster.

The Naqsh-I Rustem Sanctuary

Similar to the Kurangun sanctuary, the central panel of a Sukkalmah period relief (ca 17th century) at Naqsh-i Rustem, which includes a characteristic divine throne made of coiled serpents, was expanded during the Neo-Elamite period. On both sides of the ancient central panel representing a cultic scene the images of a "king" and a "queen" were added (for the "king" see plate 79: 203; Seidl 1986: 17-19; Miroschedji 1985: 279). The "queen" wears an unusual crenellated crown with parallels in Assyria while the "king" wears a characteristic pointed Elamite helmet or bonnet (see plate 77: 193). According to de Miroschedji, both representations are dated to the time period of Assurbanipal (de Miroschedji 1985: 280). We know nothing about who was behind the carving of this relief. Yet, its presence and artistic characteristics at a main intersection of Fārs during the ca. 7th century BC indicates both, a strong link with past Elamite religious traditions and a manifestation of political presence on a territory linked to the old Elamite capital of Anshan.[624]

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[624] The Naqsh-i Rustem relief was badly damaged and almost completely effaced by the Sasanian king Bahram II (276-293 A.D.) who incorporated his own relief into the Old-Elamite and Neo-Elamite ones. The actual reasons for this mutilation are unknown. One could speculate that, since the Elamite reliefs survived the Achaemenid Persians who, like the Sassanians, followed Mazdean and Zoroastrian religion, it is unlikely that specific religious symbols was a concern involved on its destruction (i.e. the 'worshipping of serpents'). On the other hand, their destruction may have been orchestrated by the religious fervor of Kartir, the high Zoroastrian priest who raised Varahan II to the Sassanian throne and who was a zealot persecutor of competing religious beliefs (Lukonin 1967: 118)

III.9.6. LATE NEO-ELAMITE GLYTIC

Our knowledge of late Neo-Elamite glyptic is substantiated by a corpus of seals and sealings[625] that emerged during excavations at Susa[626] and Luristan.[627] At Susa these include seals and sealings from the Acropole and Apadana tablets (Scheil 1907, 1911; L. Delaporte's CCO in Amiet 1973: 4; Porada 1965: 50-51; Amiet 1966, 1972: 273-283, figs. 2121-2201), the Village Perse-Achemenide (Ghirshman 1954), the Ville Royale and the Ville Royale-Apadana (P. de Miroschedji 1981; 1982). At Luristan, these include Neo-Elamite related groups of seals from Chigha Sabz (Van Loon 1988, Pl. IIa), and Surkh Dum-i Luri (Schmidt et al. 1989: 429. Plate 236: 81, 82, 93, 84; Plate 237: 85, 86, 87; Plate 238: 923).[628] In addition to these seals, there is a small body of unprovenanced glyptic material whose presence is justified on the grounds that they either bear an Elamite inscription, or their stylistic-iconographic analogies present little doubt as to their association with excavated seals. The classification presented here (see Appendix I) slightly modifies the previous organization proposed by P. Amiet, and followed by most scholars, in that it includes an Elamo-Assyrian glyptic style identified through the Arjan material and an Elamo-Iranian glyptic style identified as the artistic manifestation of an equestrian culture.[629] This modification also pretends to reflect the general artistic outlook of the late Neo-Elamite period as re-defined in the present work and according to which three main distinctive artistic traditions coexisted in the late Neo-Elamite material culture: traditional Elamite, Elamo-Assyrian, and an Elamite renaissance period which counts with an Elamo-Iranian subgroup of seals.

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[625] Unless othewise made specific, the term seal will be used here to talk about sealings.

[626] According to P. de Miroschedji (1981) most of this material remains unpublished with exception R. de Mecquenem's 1922, 1924, 1934: 207-209, 218-220; P. Amiet 1966: figs. 357-358, 360, 362-371, 374, 376-379.

[627] The sites of Sorkh-e Dom and Chigā Sabz provided much of the Luristan glyptic corpus for the Neo-Elamtie period (Schmidt-Van Loon-Cuvers 1989 esp. 245-248, 413-453, 490; Van Loon 1988; Carter 1998: 322f). Chigā Sabz lies only ca. 18 km northwest of Kalmākarra where a hoard of late neo-Elamite inscribed objects is attested. According to Van Loon, during Iron Age III the site was used as a campsite and as a place for "the burial of treasured objects before approaching danger" (1989: 26). The site of Sorkh-e Dom, an extensive Iron Age sanctuary about ca. 30 km northeast of Kalmākarra (Schmidt et. al. 1989), had close ties with Neo-Elamite material culture. The shrine may have had economic and administrative functions as well (Cuvers 1989: 489). It is however uncertain whether the sanctuary was still in use in the latest phase of the Neo-Elamite period (Van Loon 1989: 448-490). The chronological sequence was been determined not along occupational "levels" but along plots defined as "locus" which correspond to spaces inside a grid. Elevation points corresponding to the objects found were recorded as well. A number of objects were found (the word "fill" is used) without their exact find spot or circumstances being recorded" (Schmidt et.al. 1989: 67). Wall hoards, meaning objects found in or below walls included seals. Initially the objects were dated by comparison to materials from Susa and Tepe Giyan.

[628] I will not be including here the "Neo-Elamite" style seals from Persepolis. Although strongly influenced by Neo-Elamite glyptic, I am not persuaded the term Neo-Elamite is the most appropriate for these seals. Instead, as proposed by M. B .Garrison, I will advocate for an "Early Persian" style denomination (Garrison and Root 2001; Garrison 1991). This however should not include the sealing represented in the bronze plaque from Persepolis (19 P), seals 21 P, 23 P, or 34 P, which I believe to be of a late Neo-Elamite production.

The broad chronological frame of this late Neo-Elamite glyptic corpus heavily depends on the dating of the Apadana and Acropolis tablets from Susa. It is generally acknowledged that all tablets should be placed after the destruction of Susa by Assurbanipal. Steve assigned the tablets to the second half of the 7th century BC (or Neo-Elamite III A period, c. 653-605). M. Waters and S. Dalley favor the end of the 7th century B.C. (Waters 2000: 100-1). Other scholars do not hesitate to date these tablets to the Neo-Elamite IIIB period (585-539 B.C.), with a more precise date of ca. 600 to 575 B.C. provided by Vallat (1998: 311; 1997 : 268; 1996c) and a lower date of 590/580-565/555 BC advanced by Tavernier (Tavernier 2004: 32). Altogether, it is estimated that late neo-Elamite glyptic workshops were active sometime after ca. 650 BC (Steve) to about 555 BC (Tavernier). Here I will follow a still broad ca. 625 to 575 BC chronological frame for these tablets and associated material. 625 BC marks a secure date for the presence at Susa of a political power, since the Babylonian king Nabopolasar (625-605 B.C.) in his accession year returned the gods of Susa; As for 575 BC, I follow the date date for the tablets proposed by F. Vallat. The particular characteristics of this glyptic were laid out in some detail by P. Amiet (1973), with amendments by P. de Miroschedji (1981; 1982), Van Loon (1988), Steve (1986), Garrison (forthcoming) and have subsequently generally been adopted by most scholars.[630] The chronology, however, remains the source of much debate. For the sake of convenience, the reader will find a re-organization of the late Neo-Elamite seals at the end of this work (Appendix I) according to five iconographic (subject based) series: Mythological (plate 94); Heraldic (plate 95); Cultic (plate 96), and Hunting series, which divide into two subgroups: hunting on chariot and foot series (plate 97) and horseman hunting series (plate 99).

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[629] Except forthcoming article by M. Garrison.

The following discussion divides the seals according to aspects of continuity and change as complimentary aspects of transition and development (so Lafranchi, Roaf and Rollinger 2003). Continuity trends are observed in scenes typified by the glyptic from Tchoga Zanbil and motifs from the polychrome glazed plaques and bricks from Susa discussed previously (see traditional Elamite period). In particular the archer-hero series, and the heraldic tree-of-life framed by goat-ibex series (Porada 1970: groups IV, and VI) find correspondences on seals from Susa (see plate 87: 39 Ap, 38 V-R, 42 *, 45 *) and Luristan (see plate 90). In many ways it is remarkable that, despite the existing chronological gap of almost six hundred years between the Tchoga Zanbil and late Neo-Elamite seals, there is attested continuity in glyptic styles and motifs. Given this temporal gap, most analysis of Neo-Elamite glyptic tend to rely on analogies with Mesopotamian (Babylonian and Assyrian) glyptic; Thus, and perhaps in an unintended manner, accentuating the sense of assimilation of Elamite artistic identity into the larger Mesopotamian cultural magnet. Given what we know about the evolution of Elamite glyptic since Tchoga Zanbil, I prefer to suspend judgment as to the authoritative character of the Mesopotamian influence over late Neo-Elamite glyptic. Instead, I would like to prioritize iconographic and stylistic similarities within Elam and Luristan through both the polychrome glazed plaques and bricks from Susa and associated Luristan material (see traditional Elamite period).

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[630] i.e. Bollweg 1988; de Miroschedji 1982, 1985, and 1992; Steve 1986; Garrison 1991; Root 1991; Aruz 1992; Garrison and Root 1996; Waters 2000 n. 79-80; Potts 1999: 295-297; and Henkelman 2003b.

This said, one cannot dismiss beforehand the stylistic analogies between Mesopotamian glyptic and late Neo-Elamite glyptic material (Amiet 1973, Miroschedji 1982). Accordingly, "linear-style"[631] and a "drilled-style" seals are of Assyrian inspiration and "modeled-style"[632] and "cut-style"[633] seals are of Babylonian inspiration. These analogies invited P. de Miroschedji to suggest strong familiarity of late Elamite glyptic with Mesopotamian glyptic schools (Miroschedji 1982: 58). This view is now supported by the evidence from the Arjan tomb and related materials from Susa, which leads to specifically advocate for the presence of an Elamo-Assyrian series of seals manufactured in Elam. Given close political alliances between Elamite, Mesopotamian, and Zagros monarchs, a period of strong artistic influences between Elam, Assyria, and Luristan seems to have taken place during the mid and seconfd haf of the 7th century BC. We may be looking at a period of increasing

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[631] Assyrian tradition: linear drawing and flat relief (for references see Miroschedji 1982: 53, nt. 4).

[632] Babylonian tradition: attested in Assyria and Babylonia, popular during the 7th century BC (see Miroschedji 1982: 53, nt. 7, with references).

[633] Babylonian tradition: hard stone seals. E. Porada (1947) proposed an Early Cut-Style (9-8th centuries BC) and a late Cut-Style, also attested in Assyria (7th –6th centuries BC).

"internationalization" of artistic influences dominated by elite, cosmopolitan-centered, workshops (including Elamite-based workshops).

Parallel to these two tendencies based on aspects of traditional Elamite and Mesopotamian (mainly Assyrian) inspiration, there is a number of innovative elements suggesting a renaissance of Elamite art manifested by (1) a minimalist arrangement of the composition combined with a tendency to be realistic; (2) a further increasing 'naturalistic' treatment of the animal figure, and (3) the iconographic birth of the horseman chasing a leaping horse that turns its head towards the hunter.

(1) The compositions are generally reduced to the minimum elements as possible. A minimalist reduction of the participants along self contained, closed compositions, emphasizes the essence of the message which seeks to reveal meaning without added attributes or attempt to generate narrative. The heraldic groups organize themselves round a central axis enclosing pure symmetric geometrical forms. There is a sense of solid unity and equilibrium grounded on the clarity of basic geometrical forms. This tendency was previously encountered in the Arjan material, where symmetry around a central axis becomes a prime object of the composition. Thus characteristic of this glyptic is the solitary passing animal (Plate 86: 27 Ac, 24*, 25*, 28*), the heraldic group (Plate 85: 14Ac, 16Ac, 19P, 21P, 22AP, 23P), a hunter with his victim (Plate 88), or a worshiper with a griffin-deity (Plate 86), all without added secondary elements. This minimalist interest in the representation is further strengthened by combining empty backgrounds with frozen in-the-act scenes.

(2) A further "naturalistic" trend seeking to ennociate the physical properties of the animals can be considered the trademark of this style. In addition, animals are represented following exacting conventions: a distinct outline with well defined strong

members. The line of the head, the neck, the stomach, and chest are markedly elongated. This elongation creates a distinct arched shape identifiable by a general S outline reaching from the top of the head to the lower belly. The wings tend to be also elongated but small and curved. The legs are lean but strong and bearers of marked specific elements such as muscles, hoofs or claws. In this respect the emphasis on the representation of horses and their detail grant further comments regarding the role played by this animal in the cultures under discussion.

(3) A horseman on the act of unleashing his arrow or spear into a leaping animal or enemy becomes another of the trademarks of this period (see Plate 88). Hunting scenes with the participation of a horseman are seen by Amiet as the starting point an artistic iconography revealing the new influence of "the Persians" (Amiet 1966: 569; Van Loon 1988: 223) just after the destruction of Susa by Assurbanipal (P. de Miroschedji 1982: 62-63; Van Loon 1988: 224). I believe this group of seals deserves more attention in that it represents the birth of an original style of equestrian art that will remain in vogue for centuries to come.

PART IV

THE ARJAN TOMB IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

THE ARJAN TOMB IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

It is time to summarize the relevant aspects of the foregoing discussion and to attempt to consider the various implications within the historical context of the late Neo-Elamite period. In the course of this investigation a number of definite formal relationships between the Arjan ring and materials from Assyria, the Zagros mountains, and Susa have been articulated. How and why the Assyrian capital city of Nimrud, in particular, came to play such a significant role in the make up of cultural artistic elements associated with the late Neo-Elamite period will be of continuing relevance to the present discussion. Accordingly, I will argue, the levels and relevance of this interaction extend beyond the artistic sphere into the political and social history of the first millennium BC. At the outset, it is necessary to provide a summary of late Neo-Elamite political history purposely outlined in order to integrate the material discussed in these pages.

A summary review of the political landscape of the late Neo-Elamite period has shown various levels of relationships between the Elamites and their close and distant neighbors. Generally speaking, available evidence shows that geographical proximity and porous borders fostered close networks of relationships. This generalization, I believe, can be applied to our knowledge of Babylonian-Elamite relations and, to some degree, to the relationships between Elam and various neighboring Zagros polities. A possible Elamo-Urartian connection can also be advanced, although its substantiation is solely based on art historical grounds.

The broader picture of the Neo-Elamite archaeological settlements depicts a relative progression of desertion of urban Elam. Further it indicates that by the middle and end of the 7th century Elam was undergoing a major transformation having to do with the increasing involvement and influence of Iranian tribes[634] or that populating the areas immediately north and east of the Neo-Elamite state. Perhaps coinciding with the raid and partial destruction of Susa and the collapse of the Elamite western buffer zone a reformulation of Elamite territorial integrity an accelerated process of Elamite-Iranian acculturation seems to have taken place.

From 814 B.C.—the earliest known date of an Elamite-Babylonian alliance against Assyria— until ca. 674 B.C. the Elamites played a prominent role in the political fortunes of the Babylonians and Zagros neighbors. In particular, along the Elamite-Babylonian border, there was a strip of land inhabited by pastoral nomadic Arameans. Many of the Aramean tribes remained marginalized from the large cities, living in small towns and practicing a nomadic existence. Textual evidence shows that alliances, sealed by marriages, were made between leaders from powerful Aramean pastoral nomadic groups and Elamite rulers. In this respect Elamite-Aramaic acculturation is certain (see Potts 1999: 265-269; Waters 2000: 64, fn. 48).[635] Absence of evidence prevents positing similar degree of relationship between the Elamites its Zagros neighbors and Urartu. Artistic correspondence, however, between artifacts found in the Surkh-i Dum sanctuary and Susa demonstrate direct Elamite cultural influence on parts of Luristan at the end of the eight and probably throughout the first half of the seven centuries BC (see Overlaet 2003: 35-37). The military activities of Elam in the northwestern frontiers, in support of one of the Ellipean princes in 708 BC can be further attributed to an attempt by Elam to extend control of the northern territories.

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[634] The notion 'tribe' like that of 'ethnicity' is a highly ambiguous term, it is used to define a group by political characteristics (a non-hierarchical political system between "bands" and "chiefdoms"), and also by cultural features (a socially bound cultural group existing within states or on their peripheries) (Emberling 1995: 8). Often the term tribe designates a group of people claiming descen from a common ancestor. Yet such lineages can be more fictional than literal, for tribal affiliations are very fluid (Schwartz 1995: 249).

[635] These relations were not just with the Aramean and Chaldean tribe but involved the Elamites, Chaldean and Arab tribes (Brinkman 1984: 27).

In 674 BC a bilateral *adê* treaty of "good will and peace...friendship and comradeship" sealed by oaths and sworn by Elamite and Assyrian gods and by an exchange of Elamite and Assyrian princes was made between the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (681-669 BC) and the Elamite king Urtak (675-664 [?] BC) thus transforming the geo-political dynamics of the Near East.[636] For the first time in a century and a half, Assyria and Elam may have been able to reach consensus about common interests and areas of influence both, in Babylonia and the Zagros mountains. The promptness with which Urtak chose to make peace with Esarhaddon soon after he came to the Elamite throne marked a discerneable shift in the relationsips between these two influential countries.[637] A good-will letter sent by Esarhaddon to Urtak after the treaty was made reveals the cordial tone of this relationship: ".... may Urtaku king of Elam, my brother, be well, may my sons and daughters be well, may your magnates and your country be well!" (Luuko and Van Buylaere 2002: 4). According to the

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[636] According to S. Parpola (1972) youths of noble blood from around the empire were sent to the Assyrian capital at Nineveh to be kept and taught the "Assyrian way of life". Foreign princes were kept hostages and educated in Nineveh and later placed on the throne as pro-Assyrian vassals. Although this theory is far from certain (see Brinkman 1984: 79) we are left wondering about the names of the Assyrian and Elamite princes sent to each others respective courts. It is interesting to note that Assurbanipal did not blame Urtak for violating the *adê* treaty made with his father. Instead, he considers Te-uman, "the image of a *gallû* demon," responsible for this act of treason; demonstrating perhaps unique relationships between nobles of the Urtak family and Assurbanipal (see Parpola 1972: 34, nt. 66 with references; Parpola 1987: 181).

[637] Yet, as suggested by M. Stolper, this cordial entente might have more to do with Assyrian politicking in Elamite affairs (Carter and Stolper 1984: 49).

Assyrian Annals, after the death of Esarhaddon in 669 BC, Assurbanipal honored his father's treaty by helping the Elamites during a period of serious food shortages. Assyria sent grain to Elam and allowed Elamite refugees to settle in Assyrian territory until they were able to return.

Peace between Elam and Assyrian lasted for ten years. In 664 B.C the treaty came to an abrupt end when, according to the Assyrian sources, and for no apparent reason, Urtak attacked Babylonia dying in the aftermath. Thereafter, a challenger to the Elamite throne named Te-Uman "sat on the throne of Urtak" (Gerardi 1987: 133). This incident caused a large contingent of Elamite nobles and elites, entourage and supporters, including members of the royal Houses of Ummanaldaš and Urtak, to seek refuge in Assyria.[638] Accordingly, 'Ummanigaš, Ummanappa, Tammaritu, the sons of Urtak, king of Elam (and) Kudurru (and) Paru sons of Ummanaldaš (II), brother of Urtak, king of Elam', along with 'sixty of the royal family, countless bowmen, free Elamites' made Assyria their place of residency (Streck 1916/II: 109; Potts 1999: 276-277).[639]

The Ulai battle in 653 BC marks a defining moment in the history of the Elam. The Elamite forces commanded by Te-uman met a tragic defeat in the hands of a coalition of Assyrian cavalry, infantry, and Elamite archers supporting the House of Urtak. With the death of Te-Uman, and after an exile in Assyria of more than ten years, the House of Urtak retuned to Elam to retake over the main urban centers of Elamite power (Madaktu, Susa, and Hidalu). More than twenty years had passed since the peace treaty between Urtak and Esarhaddon (674-653 BC). For a moment it might have appeared as if, for the first time, Elam had entered the circle of Assyrian political vassallage. Surprisingly, one year after their return to Elam, the Assyrian civil war broke out and the House of Urtak, represented by the two brothers Ummanigaš and Tammaritu sided with the Assyrian prince Shamaš-šum-ukin and his Babylonian allies. At the same time, Elamite factions loyal to Assurbanipal may have accompanied his army on its campaigns in Elam itself (Reade 1972: 107; Curtis and Reade 1996: 77). Unfortunately we lack the Elamite version of this high political drama. The Assyrian (Assurbanipal's) account however emphasizes the ingratitude of the House of Urtak, in particular Ummanigaš. The stakes were high, given the traditional involvement of Elam in the internal affairs of Babylonia and Zagros polities, a victory of the Elamite-Babylonian alliance over Assurbanipal would have provided a not a small degree of Elamite authority over the region. Unfortunately, the sons of Urtak did not enjoy divine support and, shortly after the end of a bitter war against his brother, Assurbanipal decided to punish his former Elamite guests. In ca. 647/646 BC Assurbanipal's armies attached and devastated western Elam going all the way to the vicinity of the Elamite eastern capital of Hidalu and taking special pain in desecrating Susa, the traditional religious and political center of the empire, and perhaps deporting its remaining inhabitants.[640]

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[638] This may have happened around June/July 664 BC (Milard 1964: 19; Gerardi 1987: 128; in Potts 1999: 276).

[639] Other Elamite leaders remained in Elam: Ištar-nandi (Shutruk-Nahhunte) king of Hidalu, and Umbakidinu (Humban-Kidin) (Potts 1999: 276).

The events that took place at Susa and western Elam during 647 BC have generally been discussed as the pivotal incident that ended centuries of Elamite history. After the Assyrian civil war, and supposed treason of the House of Urtak, the wrath of

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[640] According to the Book of Ezra, Assurbanipal deported Babylonians (citizens of Uruk, Babylon and possibly Sippar) and Elamites (citizens of Susa) and settled them "in the cities of Samaria and in the rest of the province beyond the River" (Ezra 4:9-10).

Assurbanipal fell upon western Elam.[641] According to Prism C (composed in 646 BC, Tadmor 1983: 50; Gerardi 1987: 69) the theological justification behind the destruction of Susa was the need to return the goddess Nanaya *(na-na-a)* to Uruk[642] who, after 1635 years of "being desecrated and having gone to live in Elam" (V, 9), ordered Assurbanipal to rescue her from her Elamite abode (Smith 1871: 234).[643] In the Assyrian account, Assurbanipal informs the audience about the carrying away of Inshushinak, together with 18 other gods, 32 statues of Elamite kings, the colossi guardian of the temples, and precious goods (Luckenbill 1989: 309-310-311). In addition to the destruction of religious cultic centers, a main priority of the raid was the plunder of Susa, but neither destruction of royal or domestic property is included in the report. Observed under a religious lens, the emphasis on the destruction of the symbols of Elamite religion, the ziggurat, the shrines, the sacred groves, and the royal crypts, emerges as religious sacrilege. How Elam reacted to the destruction of the holy city remains unknown. Spoliation of divine images was a political tool frequently used by the Assyrians "meant to portray the abandonment of the enemy by his own gods in submission to the superior might of Assyrian's god Ashur. Accordingly, foreign gods were not treated as captives nor displayed as trophies, but held, at times not far from their homes, for as long as it took Assyria to secure guarantees of loyalty from the defeated" (Cogan 1974: 40). Two follow-up episodes to the trumpeted destruction of Susa must be underlined here. The first one addresses the nature of the destruction of the Acropole, the second one is related to its reconstruction.

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[641] In Assurbanipal's Annals the term *girru* "campaign" is used to describe his military expeditions. The term *girru* refers to the "sending away of an army, a battle (siege or chase), and the return of the army" (see discussion by Gerardi 1987).

[642] The cities of Uruk and Susa share an interesting tic-for-tac destiny in the adduction of gods. Hallushu-Inshushinak carried the gods of Uruk to Elam (Grayson 2000: 79, iii 2f). Humban-haltash returned the gods of Uruk from Elam (Grayson 2000: 81, iii 29). And again in 625 BC Nabopolassar returned the Elamite gods to Susa from Uruk.

[643] During the OB period the goddesses Nanaya, her daughter Kanisura, and Ishtar were worshiped together at Uruk as a sort of female trinity. During the first millennium BC Nanaya appears to have assimilated aspects of Inanna-Ishtar (Black and Green 1992: 134) but she is not a manifestation of Ishtar (Westenholz 1997: 80). The origin of this goddess is unknown. J.G. Westenholz has indicated possible connections between her name and the Elamite word for 'day (24 hour period)": *nan(a)* (Westenholz 1997: 58, nt. 7). There is however no evidence of the worship of a goddess Nanaya in Elam prior to the Seleucid era where she seems to have become one of the main deities of the pantheon (see Potts 1999: 370). In three different occasions the Elamites brought to Susa elements associated with this goddess. Two cult statues of Nanaya were carried off to Susa by the Elamites during separate raids of Uruk, one at the time of Kutir-Nahhunte I (ca. 1730-1700 BC) and the other at the time of Sennacherib. One of the statues was returned to Uruk during the time of Esarhaddon before 671 BC (Westenholz 1997: 74, nt. 136). It is likely that this event took place during the peace treaty of 674 BC. The other Nanaya could be the one mentioned by Assurbanipal. Finally, the ascension to the Babylonian throne of the House of Shutruk-Nahhunte brought to Susa large amounts of Babylonian valuables among which was a Kassite Kudurru representing Nanaya This Kudurru belonged to the time of Meli-shihu (1186-1172 BC) and was found *in-situ* at the Acropole of Susa by J. de Morgan (de Morgan 1900; and Scheil 1908: 77).

The level of destruction of the city of Susa and its religious quarter should be reevaluated in light of new evidence provided by a tablet found in the Achaemenid library at Sippar. This tablet contains a copy of the introductory text found in the Hammu-rabi Code and specifies it to be a copy of the "ancient stele that Hammu-rabi erected at Susa". According to D. Charpin, the author of the tablet belonged to a well known scribal family residing in Sippar during the Achaemenid Period (Charpin 2003: 87-88). As noted by both, A. Fadhil and D. Charpin, the scribe may have made a copy of Hammu-rabi Code after a visit to Susa during the Achaemenid period unaware that this object had been carried to Susa by Shutruk Nahhunte, the 12th century BC Elamite contender to the Babylonian throne (Fadhil 1998 in Charpin 2003; Potts 1999: 234). The earliest document found in the Sippar library dates to the reign of Cambyses I (529 BC). The scribe in question, Marduk-shum-usur, was the father of another scribe, Nabû-êtir-napshâti (Charpin 2003: 88). It is highly likely that an individual scribe named Marduk-shuma-usur, son of Bēl... descendant of Sîn-imittu, attested in Sippar

19/VI/1 at the time of Bardiya (522 BC) (Graziani 1991: 37, 59; text 30:19; BM 74681), is the same individual mentioned in the Sippar tablets Accordingly, one may presume that by ca. 525 BC the Code of Hammu-rabi was observed by Marduk-shum-usur at Susa. J. de Morgan, states to have found the Hammu-rapi code broken into three pieces and tossed in a pit together with a number of other objects located in the southern religious quarter of the Acropole, in the vicinity of the temple of Inshushinak (de Morgan 1905: 29; for a precise location see RCS figure 41). The possibility that the Code of Hammu-rapi laid visibly undamaged in the Acropole during the time of Bardiya suggest that its destruction must have taken place after the implicit visit to Susa of Mr. Marduk-šum-usu, that is, during or after the Achaemenid period. Furthermore it implies that the destruction of the Acropole by Assurbanipal did not affect all the areas of the sacred quarter likewise. In sum, this evidence, in junction with to the ideological and propagandistic nature of the Assyrian annals (Gerardi 1987: 40), and the attested continuity in material remains presented in the archeological record (de Miroschedji 1981: 36-40; Reade 2000), invites a more critical reading of Assurbanipal's account of the destruction of Susa and its aftermath.

What happened to Susa after its partial destruction and the possible deportation of its remaining inhabitants in 647 BC is, at the present moment, impossible to tell. We can assume that Assurbanipal attempted to include western Elam into an Assyrian province and that, therefore, Susa may have undergone a certain period of Assyrian dominance. But how long this period lasted is unknown.

Two additional events should be included in this account. In ca. 626 BC the Babylonian king Nabopolasar in his accession year returned "the gods of Susa."

Although Nabopolasar's statement is open to interpretation it provides evidence for a positive diplomatic gesture towards Elam (Potts 1999: 289). Furthermore it reveals that if the Elamite gods could be repatriated to Susa in 626 BC (a year after the death of Assurbanipal) it is because cults had been restored and sanctuaires could once again house divine images. Consequently, this date may be taken as secure evidence for the presence of an Elamite religious and political power at Susa. This political and certainly economic renewal is distinctively linked to the artistic renewal of western Elam or the "Elamite renaissance" in the period following 625 BC.

A second point concerns Assurbanipal's fixation with Elam. This obsession, I will argue, goes beyond the two centuries of Elamite political and military challenges to Assyrian influence over Babylon and the Zagros and involves a history of personal interaction between members of the House of Esarhaddon and the House of Urtak. Closely edited episodes of this relationship appear documented in the palace reliefs of Nineveh and in the Assyrian Annals. In particular, the 5th Elamite campaign included scenes of the Tell-Tuba or Ulai river monumental relief battle scenes carved around 650 BC in the southwest palace of Sennacherib enjoyed a second version in the north palace of Assurbanipal (whith the possible inclusion of the destruction of Susa in 646-7 BC; Russell 1999, fig. 69). Depiction of the Elamite series may have lasted five years and seem to have had a dominant artistic prevalence in the decorative sculptural program of the north palace (Reade 1979: 102; Gerardi 1978: 83). There is some evidence to believe that replacement of older reliefs related to the Tell-Tuba cycle and carving of new ones were made much latter, perhaps even after Assurbanipal's death in 627 BC (Reade 1979: 109; Gerardi 1978: 83). According to J. Reade, carvings from Sennacherib's southwest palace were chiseled away and replaced with cavalry battle scenes against the Elamites, the remains of which exist only in partially represented individual figures (Reade 1979: 109). In other words, for at least ten years (ca. 650-640 BC), if not all the way to the end of the Assyrian empire, there existed in the Assyrian heartland a monumental artistic program that was dedicated to illustrating the demise of Elam. The magnitude and longevity of such an artistic enterprise must have required a great degree of artisanal schooling, including the continuous preservation of sculptural techniques, sketches, prototypes, perhaps "master-copy-books" or, more certainly, scroll drawings supplemented by models in unbaked clay (Reade 1979: 26). Furthermore, the capital of the Assyrian empire did certainly enjoy the activities of the artistic sculptural avanguard of the time whose skills must have shaped artistic standards of the second half of the 7th century BC. Accordinly, the depiction of battle and hunting narratives, including the development of equestrian scenes such as the ones ubiquitously present in palace reliefs, must have had a profound impact on contemporary and subsequent artistic developments.

IV.2. The Assyrian Connection: the Exile and Return of the House of Urtak (664-648 BC)

The stated artistic analogies between Assyria and Susa and Arjan distinctively embrace elements of royal or elite art production reflecting the adaptation of Assyrian-center elite art into Elamite sensibilities and format. In the ensuing discussion, I will attempt to argue for the existence of an artistic development whose genesis is to be found in Assyria at the time of Assurbanipal, more concretely, with the exile of the House of

Urtak in Assyria (664-653 BC) and possibily lasted, but not certainly, until the end period of Assyrian dominance of Elam that ensued after the destruction of Susa.

It is most likely, but hard to verify, that a number of cultural elite exchanges between Elam and Assyria may have already taken place at the time of the 674 BC peace treaty between Esarhaddon and Urtak. Diplomatic exchanges may have included skilled artisans (see Zaccagnini 1983: 253), yet these interactions alone can hardly be deemed responsible for generating the fundamental Assyrian-inspired shift that overtook the artistic identity of Elam during the second half of the seventh century BC. The fact that a number of similarities between decorative plaques from the Acropolis at Susa and the Arjan material have been documented rejects the possibility that isolated elite gifts such as the ones likely to have been generated by the peace treaty, or the presence in Elam of groups of exiled artisans looking for new partronage after the collapsing Assyrian empire in ca. 612 BC, would have motivated the transformation of Elamite artistic identity.[644] Close emulation of Assyrian elite art and its adaptation into Elamite artistic tastes seems instead to be the product of a deeper, more direct and asymmetrical experience of the Elamite elites. This experience must have required exposure to, and the willing embrace of, Assyrian artistic and ideological models.

Accordingly, it is the eleven years exile in Assyria by the Urtak House that should be seen as germinal to this transformation. What happened during the eleven years of exile in Assyria is not easy to reconstruct. Court life inside an Assyrian palace must have had a tremendous impact on the artistic and social identity of the pro-

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[644] It is significant to raise a hypothetical concern regarding the fate of the skillful palace-based Assyrian artisans after the desintegration of the empire. We have to assume that some of these artisans were able to cater their skills to the old and new elites that emerged in the post-612 BC political order.

Assyrian Elamite nobles. The prolonged presence of the House of Urtak in Assyria generated an "art in exile" appropriate to the noble status of the Elamite elites and their subordinates, which might have probably including skilled Elamite artisans. Royal workshops, centered in the Assyrian capital and working under the Assyrian banner, catering to the individual tastes of foreign elites hosted by the Assyrian palace would have had at their disposition some of the finest artisans of the time and a wide range of stylistic and iconographic repertoire.

At this point it should be emphasized that when it comes to the striking Nimrud artistic connection documented in these pages, their weight upon interpretation should be moderated by the accidental nature of archaeological research. Indeed, thanks to the combined productive excavations of H. A. Layard and M. Mallowan at Nimrud and the lack of corresponding representative arts from Elam it is rather easy to have a biased and unbalanced view of the sources of regional artistic influences at this time period. Furthermore, the aforementioned formal connections go beyond stylistic and iconographic analogies exclusively linking the Elamite material with Nimrud and extend to additional material such as the presence of an Assyrian-type bronze bathtub in Arjan and Assyrian monumental reliefs from Nineveh focusing on the Elamite campaigns.

As it has been previously indicated, a subtext of these reliefs concerns the social history and personal experience in Assyria of Elamite nobles whose identity, in many case, we are able to recognize. In particular, series of slabs representing Assurbanipal's hunting exploits introduce an interesting incident related to the presence of Elamite nobles in the Assyrian court. Slab 10 from room S depicts five bows and three Elamites depositing their bows at the feet of Assurbanipal while the latter unleashes an arrow over their heads. "What is happening is that Assurbanipal has taken his guests out for a shooting party: they have failed to kill their lions, and he is obliged to rescue them" (Reade 1976: 99, fig. 21.1; BM 124878). The caption on a related slab indicates these humiliated Elamites may very well be elite members of the House of Urtak that lived exiled in Assyria from 664 to 653 BC. The image in the slab where this caption was located showed a lion-hunt conducted from a chariot enunciating "...Urtaku, king of Elam, who had fled and laid hold of my feet...a lion made for him and... he was scared and implored my majesty (for aid)" (Reade 1976: 99). Interestingly, as suggested by Reade, depiction of the humiliation of Elamite nobles did take place sometime between 645-640 while the events themselves, regardeless of wheter or not they depict true incidents, may go back to their exile in Assyria (Reade 1976: 99). This visually staged retribution representing the disgraced "bow of Elam" imploring for the protection of the "bow of Ishtar" may perhaps be considered a secondary addition, an updated reflection on the reversed fortunes of the Urtak family[645] and a visual editorialized commentary on past events recalling the fate of the rebel Teu'mman.[646]

Between 653 BC and 648 BC the House of Urtak ruled over two main centers of urban Elamite political power (Susa and Hidalu). The return of the royal house of Urtak to Elam after an exile in Assyrian of more than ten years was the main impulse behind the transformation of the artistic identity of the late Neo-Elamite period.[647] The genesis of this transformation may be found in the 674 BC peace treaty between Esarhaddon and Urtak and the subsequent exile of the House of Urtak in Assyria (664-653 BC). These two events may be considered decisive for the transmission of Assyrian artistic influences into Elam and the most appropriate time frame for the resulting emergence of a new artistic style in Elam. This artistic program included definite Elamite continuity, coupled with specific artistic elements of Assyrian source, suggesting direct link with workshops trained in Neo-Assyrian schools perpetuating a tradition going back to the North western palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud (883-859 BC).

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[645] It would appear that the two Elamite kings depicted as servants in the celebrated garden party of Asurbanipal were also a latter addition; a reediting again of the diverse fortunes of the House of Urtak (Reade 2005: 27).

[646] The visual semantic range can be further extended if we consider that Assyrian reliefs might have attemptempted a fostering visual analogy between Te'uman's fate and that of Assurbanipal's hunted lions. The capture, humiliation and death of these formidable beasts were itself a methaphor of imperial power, conquest and domination (Reade 2005: 21).

The fact that a marriage of Elamite and Assyrian artistic models can be documented for western Elam suggests that a similar phenomenon may have taken place at the eastern Elamite capital of Hidalu. It is thus suggested that with the disruption of western Elamite political and economic structures caused by continuous Assyrian military pressure and, in particular the actions of Assurbanipal in 647 BC, it is implied here, main socio-political, cultural and artistic traditions characterizing urban Elam retreated east to regroup in the territory occupied by Hidalu. Although the location of Hidalu remains inconclusive, it assuredly lay within the bounds of Ram Hormuz and Anšan. The discovery of the Arjan tomb seems to advocate for a more precise location around Behbahan, but this remains to be demonstrated.[648]

The urban residents of Hidalu were accustomed to the periodic comings and goings of the Elamite kings dodging the Assyrian armies. Hidalu was a safe heaven and as such, a place where Elam could reassess its interest vis-à-vis Anšan and its eastern boundary. The urban residents of Hidalu must have had their own distinctive and common interests in relation to the various groups residing in the city and those periodically visiting the urban center. As in other main urban centers of power, it is even plausible that youths of noble blood from around the Eastern territories and areas of Elamite influence were sent to Hidalu in order to be instructed in the "Elamite way of life"; but the evidence to support this point is lacking.

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[647] It of course possible that a preamble to this influence took place with some of the Elamite princes, sons of Urtak (?), who were sent to Assyria as a consequence of the Peace treaty of 674 BC.

[648] See Potts 2005.

According to this understading of events and areas of political and artistic interaction, I will further hypothesize that two related but distinctive artistic schools might have developed at Susa and Hidalu. The Western school is represented at Susa by the limestone plaques Sb 43 and Sb 47, which should most likely be dated to between 657 and the destruction of Susa in 647 BC;[649] the remaining plaques locus 143, SAM, and possibily, but no certainly, Sb 3354 should be dated to after the religious and political renaissance of Susa in c. 627 BC. These objects and the art they spouse are key elements for the articulation of an artistic reconstruction of the late Neo-Elamite period as it took shape in western Elam. At the same time, an "Eastern" branch or school is presumed to have developed and taken a life of its own in Hidalu and associated territories. To date, gaps of authoctonous (Elamite) evidence from western Elam and, foremost, the total absence of evidence from the East, prevented from documenting the resulting transformations and adaptations of these artistic elements into eastern Elam. Yet, introduction of the Arjan material in this discussion provides new orientation and a new frame of argumentation. This new orientation comes from the fact that we have now a body of evidence from Eastern Elam with strong artistic connections with material from Assyria, the Elamo-Assyrian material represented at Susa, late Neo-Elamite seals, and Achemenid Persian art. Indeed, the evidence from the Arjan ring comes forth as most extraordinary in its adaptation of elite accouterments linked to Elamo-Assyrian royal artistic traditions plus Zagros artistic traditions into a uniquely Elamite format and artistic language announcing already elements traditionally associated with Persian art.

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[649] We should not completely discard the possibility that these plaques postdate the destruction of Susa and are representative of the art that evolved from the Assyrian dominance of Susa.

IV.3. The Date of the Arjan Tomb

The Arjan tomb an associated material are the carriers of a unique, previously undocumented, artistic period whose conceptualization might have originally evolved in concert with Elamite, Zagros Mountains traditions, and workshop activities going back to the time of Assurnasirpal II. The adaptation of elite accouterments, linked to Assyrian royal artistic traditions, into a luxurious portable object in the shape of a double-lobed ring and a large-size bowl have to be considered typically Elamite. This art is distinctively influenced by the Elamo-Assyrian artistic style developed during the time of the House of Urtak (ca. 657-647 BC) but, at the same time, presents close analogies with the art of the Elamite "renaissance" period —as attested by the late Neo-Elamite seals from Susa—, and announces elements traditionally associated with Persian art. Accordingly, an accurate dating of material from Arjan depends on a carefully weighing of these artistic landmarks.

The chronological frame proposed here is designated, in one end, by the restoration of Susa as a religious and political center in 626 BC, and the death of

Assurbanipal in 627 BC—with both, the pressumed end of an artistic sculptural program at Susa reflecting Assyrian dominance and the end of an Assyrian sculptural program focused on depicting the defeat of Elam[650]— and, on the other end, the dating of the glyptic artistic evidence from Susa (the Acropole, the Apadana, and the Ville des Artisans). The archaeological evidence surrounding these tablets bein imprecise, their dating relies on epigraphic and artistic study.

Four objects inside the Arjan tomb—the Arjan ring, a bronze bowl, a silver vase, and a bronze candelabrum—bear the inscription "Kiddin-Hutran son of Kurlush". We don't know who this Kiddin-Hutran was but adoption of the name Kiddin-Hutran, a renowned Middle-Elamite royal name referring back to a conquest of Babylon, implies an interest in sharing on antique legitimacy and perhaps the possibility that we are dealing with a previously unkown Elamite ruler. According to F. Vallat this inscription can be dated from ca. 640 to 525 BC (F. Vallat) or, more narrowly, to ca. 605-539 BC (M.-J. Steve). Kurluš, the presumed father of Kiddin-Hutran, is seemingly identified in the economic and administrative tablets from Susa as a merchant and/or emissary associated with *Unsak*[651] supplying wool and *kuktum* garments into the Elamite court at Susa (Scheil *MDP* 9: 16,4; 50,5; 127,6; Vallat 1984: 4). The documents from Susa are generally dated to the first half of the 6th century BC (for references see Tavernier 2004: 30 and Henkelman 2006: 5, nt 9) with a more precise date of 600-575 BC provided by Vallat (1998: 311) or 590/580-565/555 BC provided by (Tavernier 2004: 32).

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[650] Although, as suggested by J. Reade (1976: 105), replacement of older sculptures dealing with the Elamites could have be enacted after Assurbanipal's abdication by any of his two sons, Ashur-etil-ilani (630-623) or Sin-shar-ishkun (623-612).

[651] Following F. Vallat, *Unsak* is here understood as a personal name; still, we don't know with certainty who this *Unsak* was or from where the Unsakean people came from (see Vallat 1992); F. Vallat has suggested a possible association with the kingdom of Samati (Vallat 2000: 30; 2002: 4).

During the examination of the silver jar found in the Arjan tomb a question was raised regarding the the possibility that an original engraved inscription might have been erased in order to include the name Kiddin-Hutran. Although this suggestion needs to be confirmed by further analysis of the vessel, this possibility, however, increases in weight when one compares the quality of the four identical inscriptions engraved in the ring, the bronze bowl, the candelabrum, and the silver vessel (see plate 57).[652] Without exception, the rather poor quality of these inscriptions and the contrasting luxurious quality of the objects themselves manifest a 'secondary" appropriation of the material. This would further imply that Kiddin-Hutran may have inherited a number of emblems of Elamite power and high status, including the Assyrian-style coffin, in circumstances we yet ignore.

In the Arjan tomb we have encountered a number of unique masterpieces of superior artistic value and rare craft. The manufacture of these objects could be said to fit broadly within the chronological limits of the Neo-Elamite III period. Stylistically, there is little doubt that the Arjan "ring", the Arjan bowl, the candelabrum, and the beaker, came out of an artistic workshop trained in elite manufacturing traditions going back to Assyrian and Phoenician schools of luxurious crafts that, themselves, can be traced to artistic practices originating in the North western palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud (883-859 BC). At the same time, the presence of distinctive Elamite artistic elements reveals this workshop was well aware of Elamite artistic traditions. The dagger from Arjan, however, stands uniquely apart as, to my knowledge, does not follow neo-Assyrian or Neo-Elamite lineages. As for the burial itself, it appears to be linked to a Zagros funerary artistic tradition. The bronze lamp, the bronze chalices, and the inscribed silver jar, are closely related to material found in Burial C from the Apadana mound and to burial 693 from Ville Royale II level 7B [see plate 70].[653] The bathtub coffin is also directly associated to the Nimrud workshops of the ca. 750 to 650 BC.

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[652] Compared for instance with the quality of the inscriptions engraved on the grave goods from Tomb II at Nimrud (Damerji 1999; J. and D. Oates 2001, plate 8b), with the quality of the trilingual inscription on the golden bowl of Xerxes (7000 Jahre persische Kunst, 2001: 193, Abb. 8), or with the inscription on the silver bowl of Artaxerxes (Curtis 1997: Plate 3).

Main characteristics of the "art of Arjan" can be summarized as: (1) a strong Assyrian-based inspiration within a Neo-Elamite format and tradition. For instance, in the case of the Arjan bowl we have seen that a number of decorations engraved into a large size bowl originally owning much to Syro-Phoenician and Assyrian stylistic vocabularies were customized into Elamite narratives. A similar adaptation took place in the Arjan "ring", i.e., the incorporation of a traditional Elamite griffin into an Elamite format depicted after models inspired from Assyrian artistic canons; (2) Stylistic features from Assyrian models adapted into an evolving Elamite stylistic language. This is particularly true when applied to zoomorphic art which presents a concrete, detailed, set of stylistic elements: bodies tend to be elongated and arched, the musculature is strong and evenly distributed, the heads are full, supporting gaping jaws, pointed ears, protruding tongues, and ferocious stares, forearms and hind legs bear paralleled striated outlines inside an almond-like shaped space and three concentric semi-circles over the thigh, powerful claws with striated marks over the finger joints; (3) Remarkable sense of compositional balance. As represented by the Arjan bowl circular narratives organized within an ideological pattern, the engraving inside the lobed ring, or the spatial harmonious geometrical placement of figures in the candelabrum, or the mirror-like arrangement of the griffin in the Arjan "ring" we are assisting at compositional two and three-dimensional masterpieces;

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[653] Burial 693 was a traditional corbel-vaulted underground tomb made of sun-dried clay bricks (height ca. 1.30 cm). The interior of the chamber was covered with a layer of plaster. Burial 693 received more than 150 earthenware vases and multiple successive internments as suggested by the presence of at least six individual skeletal remains and the location of related funerary goods and food offerings (Miroschedji 1982: 25-26). According to the analogies with Luristan and Mesopotamia material, P. de Miroschedji suggests the burial to have been used during the second half of the 8th century and the 7th century BC. Included in this material there is a small group of Assyrian-inspired objects some of which may be dated to the "period of Assyrian domination between c. 646 and c. 625 BC" (de Miroschedji 1981b: 39). The two metal vessels related to the Arjan burial were found together with an iron blade 20.8 cm long. This dagger has a curved end with its cutting side on the opposite side of the curved edge. P. de Miroschedji notices similarities with this dagger type and those from Hasanlu period Iron II (Miroschedji 1982: 34-35). P. de Miroschedji dates these two metal vases in stylistic grounds to the seventh century BC (Miroschedji 1982: 34). The seal on grave 693, fig.1 , see Miroschedji 1982: 51-56 Technically and thematically, the neo-elamite seal from the Ville Royale II falls in the 'cut style' Babylonian tradition (7th century BC, after Porada's classification. See de Miroschedji 1982: 53 and 56).

The dating for the Neo-Elamite tablets and sealings from the Acropole and the Apadana has been considerably reviewed since P. Amiet suggested in 1973 the possibility that, after the destruction of Susa (ca. 647 BC), there was a recovery stage ensued by a "Neo-elamite Renaissance" period. The artistic study of the glyptic depicted in the tablets reveals a confluence of various styles ranging from traditional archaizing elements featuring Elamo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian conservatism to more original elements including late Neo-Elamite and Elamo-Persian features. The precise dating of these seals remains rather controversial yet, it is most likely we are dealing with a broad corpus of seals representing western Elamite glyptic art from the end of the 7th century to perhaps after 550 BC (see Garrison in this volume).

In brief, the chronological frame represented by these two dates (627–ca 550 BC) provides two discussion poles of compelling attraction. At one end, we can stress the strong artistic and ideological connection with the period of Assyrian influence, suggesting a rather higher manufacturing date for the Arjan ring; that is, a time around or just soon after 627 BC, coinciding as well with the presumed end of Assyrian artistic programs focusing on portraying the demise of Elam, may be justified. On the other end, it is hard to dismiss forceful analogies with late Neo-Elamite glyptic and Achaemenid art; in which case a date around 575 BC could also be justifiable. Unavoidably, and perhaps unnecessarily, an absolute date around 600 BC can be, at this juncture, appropriately promoted. This provisional date may not be fully adequate for either, the pro-Assyrian and pro-Persian camps, yet it is, I believe, in accord with the nature of the evidence which, to some degree, remains higly arguable and ambivalent. No doubt, ahead lays a sequential connondrum and the impending source of welcomed discussion and conjecture.

CONCLUSION

Most studies of the ancient Near East work along the lines proposed by a general pattern of political continuity which structures the history of the ancient Near East in three main parts—thus an Old period, a Middle period, and a late period. More often than not, the stunning rise of the Achaemenid Persian empire, in the mid 6th century BC, and subsequent conquest of all the Near East, has been perceived as a distinctive break in the political and cultural continuity of the ancient Near East (see Root 1994). Perhaps because the archaeological evidence did not tell us much about the genesis of Persian art, or because an Indo-European model of cultural origins could not take into account the indigenous inhabitants of the land which became Persia, the arising of the Persian empire was seeing as a key rupture in the history of the Near East. Moreover, not unlike the categorization of the barbaric German tribes during the Roman period, many authors saw the Persians as lacking the autochthonous creative impulse and originality shared by their "more civilized" contemporaries.[654] In effect, the Persian had little to offer to Western civilization and everything to borrow from. Indeed, the fact that we knew little of the earlier history of the Persians did not preclude some scholars from asserting that the Persians themselves had a vague, dim knowledge of their artistic past (Cameron 1955: 81; Amandri 1958: 18). Being a people without a past, there was particular emphasis on illustrating close relationships between the Persian, Median, Babylonia, and Assyrian administration, military, political ideology and artistic iconography. Still, how these influences reached Persia remained very much a hazardous matter of contention

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[654] The presupposition that "Medes and Persians were illiterate, therefore barbaric, untutored, often rude" and that it was only through "contact with Assyria (that) made the Persians aware of a civilization more advanced technologically, if not spiritually, than their own" (Cameron 1955: 80-81) has remained very much in the background of much analysis and understandings of the genesis of the Achaemenid Persian empire.

The study of the Arjan tomb and related funerary materials presented in these pages sheds light into this delicate period of history by presenting an alternative view of the late Neo-Elamite period. In this respect, one of the main contributions of the present study is to reveal that, indeed, the Persians may have had a cultural past which, for the most part, was defined by an association with the Elamite culture of the 7th and 6th centuries BC.

The single burial from Arjan and related funerary goods attests to a complex social network of influences combining the participation of various artistic and cultural traditions. The Arjan burial is linked to a Zagros funerary architectural tradition in its usage of stone (versus a mud brick tradition, commonly used at Susa). At the same time, the gypsum plastered walls and the floor of the Arjan tomb, the symmetrical design of the tomb, and the presence of coffin inside follow traditional western Elamite burial practices. The manufacture of Arjan bronze bathtub inside the tomb is related to the Nimrud, Ur, and Sindjirli coffins. The workshop responsible for their manufacture may have had their production center in the Assyrian court, serving elements of the elite. The usage of this type of Assyrian made coffin by royal Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian elites suggest ideological emulation and close association on the part of the Elamite leadership.

There is little doubt that the expense implicit in the construction of the Arjan tomb and the luxurious items found inside suggests that the adult male buried inside enjoyed a status of wealth and high rank. Some perishable materials such as wood, basketry work, or textiles, are rarely preserved but in this case, the exceptional survival of cotton textiles decorated with fringes bearing embroideries; and golden bracteates invites to suggest the presence of Neo-Elamite luxurious garments inside the Arjan tomb.

According to the conclusions reached in this study, the four objects inside the Arjan tomb bearing the inscription "Kiddin-Hutran son of Kurlush"—the Arjan ring, the bowl, the silver jar, and the candelabrum—were made the same workshop and have in my view an assured end of the 7th century, beginning of the 6th century date. During the examination of the forth object containing the Elamite inscription, the silver jar, I observed the possibility that the inscription in the outer lip of the vessel was added perhaps after erasing an original one. Although this factor needs to be confirmed by further analysis, the relative poor quality of the inscriptions leads me to suggest that Kiddin-Hutran inherited these emblems of Elamite power and high status sometime soon after their manufacture. The evidence leaves little room to speculate in which circumstances Kiddin-Hutran inherited the precious symbols of Elamite power and related funerary goods found in the Arjan tomb. These objects however present a remarkable tale of acculturation where the merging of cultures (Assyrian, Elamite, Zagros mountains) and peoples (Elamite and Iranian) is fully attested.[655] I have further suggested that, whether Kiddin-Hutran was a king, a wealthy member of the merchant class engaged in the commerce of textiles, or both, remains unknown. Given the fact that this individual of conceivable Iranian[656] ancestry was bearer of a name associated with three powerful Elamite heroic kings known to us for their victories against Mesopotamia, that his burial contained a large number of luxury items including cotton textiles, perhaps of the kind traded by his family at Susa, I am inclined to think of him as a high status individual. Kiddin-Hutran was buried probably not too far from the eastern Neo-Elamite capital of Hidalu. The type of burial adopted by Kiddin-Hutran combines Zagros and western Elamite burial traditions. The burial goods attests to traditions associated with the Elamo-Assyrian artistic period and with "local", Elamite and Zagros based artistic traditions. From the point of view of funerary religious ideology, and other than a belief in the thereafter, there is one iconographic element than might indicate specific religious identity; namely, the lion-griffin engraved the Arjan ring in my view, is bearer of continuity of traditional Elamite religious beliefs.

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[655] "Elamite-Iranian acculturation is not likely to have been confined to the region east of Khūzestān. Iranian tribes seem to have lived to the north of the Neo-Elamite state, roughly the region of modern Lorestān, as well" (Henkelman 2003b: 196).

[656] Persian language and Iranian ancestry xxxx

The years before the death of Kiddin-Hutran saw an intense period of acculturation and transformation provoked by a revamp of Elamite power structures and identity. Past speculation about the strong Assyrian or Babylonia influence over Persian artistic identity should be set aside in favor of an authentically Elamite based phenomenon characterized by a "synthesis of diverse traditions in a properly Elamite continuity" (Canal 1976: 87). This art is seemingly suggestive of what used to be considered the stereotypical "essence of Persian art" (Amandry 1958: 15). An intricate mix of Elamite, Assyro-Babylonia and Iranian elements were present in Elam at a time of intense socio-political transformations and acculturation. It is out of this context from which would have sprout the political and cultural ambition of the house of Kurluš, active at both Susa and Arjan area at around 600 BC, and the House of Teispes, including Cyrus I of Anšan (c. 610-c.585 BC).[657]

Kiddin Hutran died in unknown circumstances. His interment however contended with that of a monarch. He was deposited inside an Assyrian-type bronze coffin—made probably fifty years or so before— lying on his back and with bended knees. He was dressed in his most valuable garment, a cotton garb decorated with gold rosettes and disks. Complimentary cotton garments making his personal wardrobe were carefully folded and deposited next to his body. On his side lied his personal iron dagger decorated with precious stones and gold. Finally, his right arm was bent in the direction of the chest and his hand was slowly placed down to rest on top of a fabulous golden ring bearing the emblems of Elamite power. Afterwards, the lid was put over the coffin and was firmly secured by ropes to the handles on the sides. Outside the coffin a number of precious items of ceremonial and functional value were included. A bronze candelabrum, a bronze lamp, a beaker, 13 bronze chalices, a large bronze bowl with carved registers representing extraordinary narratives, one silver and one bronze lamp. A number of objects made in perishable materials such as ceramics, wood or bone, were probably added to this assemblage but none have survived. After performance of obligatory funerary ceremonies the burial was capped with large flat stone slabs, only to be reopened about two thousand six hundred years latter.

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[657] Thus according to F. Vallat (1997c: 425) and Stronach (1997: 359). Brosius suggests c. 620-590 (Brosius 2000: xxii).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: LATE NEO-ELAMITE GLYPTIC

KEY:
ORIGIN OF THE SEALING: Suse: (Ac) Acropole Tablets, (Ap) Apadana Tablets, (V-R) Ville-Royale; (P) Persepolis; (L) Luristan; (*) Unprovenance

STYLES: (TE) Traditional Elamite; (E-A) Elamo-Assyrian; (E-I) Elamo-Iranian
ICONOGRAPHY: (M) Mythological; (H) Heraldic; (C) Cultic; (HFC) Hunting on chariot and foot; (HH) Horseman hunting
DEPICTION OF MOVEMENT: (MI) motionless or frozen images; (IA) in action images
PRESENCE OF CULTIC SYMBOLS: (M) Marduk, (N) Nabû; (G) Griffin .

SEALS	GENERAL DESCRIPTION	COMMENTARY ON STYLE AND DATE	MAIN REFERENCE
Plate 84: MYTHOLOGICAL SERIES			
1 Ac.	Inscription in Akkadian addressing Marduk and Nabu. [1]Mesopotamian-type scene consisting of two winged genii framing a sacred tree. A smaller figure with arms raised in worshiping position behind one of the genie may have been added later.	Influence of the Assyro-Babylonian "modeled *style*" (after Porada 1948). Close to Mesopotamian glyptic of the 7th century.	Amiet 1973: 6-9; Plate I, fig. 6

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[1] Seal Ac. 1 is attested on more than one hundred tablets and contains an Akkadian evocation, the only non-Elamite writing in the corpus: "from hardship and distress deliver me, Marduk, Nabu, protect my existence and grant me life."

2 Ac.	Mesopotamian-type scene including two winged genii framing a sacred tree and a small animal	Also influenced by the Assyro-Babylonian "modeled *style*" (after Porada 1948). 7th century BC H. 18 mm, L. 31 mm	Amiet 1973: 6-9; Plate I, fig. 5
3 Ac.	Winged genius holding two leaping composite animals. The tail is that of a bird, the wings are curved and the lean neck seems to turn back. We may possibly be looking at a griffin	Amiet observes resemblance with the Mesopotamian glyptic of the 7th century. The style of wings and body does however indicate closer analogies with the Elamite "art nouveau" of the 2/2 of the 7th century BC	Amiet 1973: 6-9; Plate I, fig. 2, Length:32.5 mm
4 Ac.	Two bull men in atlas position. Framing a smaller man in the middle with bull legs.	The tail of the bulls makes a loop and drops down behind the leg. A similar stylistic arrangement shows in the plaque from the Seattle Art Museum. mid 7th century BC H. 14 mm, L. 26.5 mm	Amiet 1973: 9; Plate II, fig. 7
5 *	According to Amiet 'a female divinity' holding a pair of fish. Inscription illegible I...na, son of Hupana...na.	Position of the arms on aan open-W similar to that of seals 6 Ap, 7 Ac, 8 Ac, and 9 Ac. 2/2 7th century BC	Amiet 1973: 18; plate VI, fig. 33

6 Ap.	Winged beardless genius holding two animals by the tail Presence of cuneiform inscription without box (text unreadable)	Neo-Babylonian tradition	Amiet 1973: 12; plate IV fig. 17.
7 Ac.	Half-kneeling winged genius holding strange object looking like a cluster of unripe globular dates. Eagle-like bird stands next to it. Incomplete Elamite inscription.	Partaking close similarities with the Neo-Elamite decorative plaque from the Acropole at Suse Sb 43 (Canal 1976). Mid 7th century BC Seal 7: H. 17 mm, L. 38 mm	Amiet 1973: 10; Plate III, fig. 8
8 Ac.	Half-kneeling winged holding strange object . Inscription erased	Partaking close similarities with the Neo-Elamite decorative plaque from the Acropole at Suse (Canal 1976).). Mid 7th century BC Seal 8: H. 11 mm, broken	Amiet 1973: 10; Plate III, fig. 9
9 Ac.	Half-kneeling winged genius holding strange object , Inscription unclear	Partaking close similarities with the Neo-Elamite decorative plaque from the Acropole at Suse (Canal 1976).). Mid 7th century BC Seal 9: H. 13 mm, L. 20.5 mm	Amiet 1973: 10; Plate III, fig. 10

10 Ap.	Winged half-keeling genius next to a standing individual	Similar to seals 8-9-10, unclear	Amiet 1973: 12; plate IV fig. 18
12*	Seal of "Parsirra son of Kurlush" [2]	See footnote 628 below	Amiet 1973: 17-18; plate VI, fig. 32

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[2] The importance of seal 15 is further underscored by the likely possibility that the Iranian name-bearer Parsirra was brother of Kiddin-Hutran son of Kurlush. According to P. Amiet, this seal has nothing typically Elamite about it but rather Assyrian and Babylonian (Amiet 1973: 17-18, plate VI, seal fig. 32). Amiet dates if to the 7th century BC and describes the weapon carrier represented in the cylinder as a goddess displaying no distinctive Elamite characteristics The 'goddess' is represented with her left foot on the back of a lion with stretched front legs and long tail. The warrior is holding a bow with the left hand and carries on each side of the back two quivers containing two more bows and arrows. The right hand appears to be holding three additional arrows. The individual is dressed in a long robe divided by a middle double belt. Two curved vertical strips on the upper section of the garment indicate the placement of the border frills. The lower part of the garment is divided into an inner short skirt with border frills and the long robe contains a broad border frill but includes two distinctive double horizontal strips marking some kind of textile ornamentation. The face of the individual is shaven. The hair style is composed of a braid divided into three small circular sections and ending on a larger round section reaching the shoulder. The headdress appears to be made of a tall hat capped by a row of feathers which match those found on the top of the quivers.

A late neo-Elamite previously classified as Achaemenid Persian (Plate LXIX, seal 20 *; Amiet 1994: 64, fig. 7) depicts a heraldic symmetric image combining two identical similar individuals standing on the back of a mythological goat-fish with a paw touching on a stylized tree of life. One of the hands is holding a dagger while the other holds to the ear (?) of the fish-ibex. Iconographically and stylistically, this individual shares a number of analogies with the one portrayed on the seal of Parsirra. Both, the arrangement of the body and the type of garment are closely related. In addition, the hair style does include a final small circular lump of hair. Lastly, P. Calmeyer has suggested the feather-made headdress is representative of Elamite soldiers represented on the Assyrian reliefs (Calmeyer 1970 in Amiet 1994: 65, nt. 42). In sum, I will propose that these analogies point out to a degree of stylistic and iconographical similarities between these two seals. Accordingly, the seal of Parsirra represents a unique type of Neo-Elamite glyptic which developed in junction with a Babylonian-Assyrian school. I will suggest a date to the end of the 7th century BC.

20 *	Two individuals standing on a composite fish-ibex	A unique type of Neo-Elamite glyptic which developed in junction with a southern Babylonian school end of the 7th century BC. see footnote seal 15 *	Amiet 1994: 64, fig. 7
PLATE 85: HERALDIC SERIES			
12 *	Seal of Hupan-kitin, son of Shutur Nahunte II[3] Two standing *mušhuššu*, 'furious snake' (horned snake dragons), frame the spade- *marrû*, symbol of the god Marduk.[4] The spade takes the place of the sacred tree. Perfect balance and symmetry replicating that of the Arjan 'ring' griffin.	Royal workshop. Careful design, 'nervous muscular anatomy (*on elongated body*) characteristic of the Neo-elamite glyptic" (Amiet 1973: 18). Amiet suggests a date at the end of the 7th century and the ½ of the 6th century and relates this seal with the series from the Apadana.	Amiet 1973: 18; plate VI, fig. 34; P. de Miroschedji 1982: 61, fig. 5

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[3] The seal may have belonged to the king Šutur Nahhunte (son of Indada) mentioned in the Hanni inscription. In Tavernier's chronological reconstruction the Elamite king of Susa Šutur Nahhunte, son of Indada and father of Huban-kitin, was king of Susa during the last quarter of the 7th century BC (Tavernier 2004: 21). Steve proposes a date around 653-605 (Steve 1992: 22). P. de Miroschedji places it in the first half of the 6th century BC (Miroschedji 1982: 61); and F. Vallat supports a date in the NE III B period (ca. 585-ca. 539 BC, Vallat 1996b: 393).

[4] The Neo-Babylonian *mušhuššu* was the creature of Marduk and Nabû. In Assyria it became associated with Aššur but associations with Enlil and Nabû are also likely (Black and Green 1997: 16; see also T.L.Lewis CZ 13.33.34 and Ezekiel 32: Lion-Dragon Myths, *JAOS* 116 (1996): 28-47).

13 *	Two leaping bulls overlapping Seal of *Kitepatin son of Pinriri*. Perfect balance and symmetry	Carefully engraved. Classified together with seal 24 *, and the Apadana seals series End 7th- ½ 6th century BC	Amiet 1973: 19, plate VII, fig. 35
14 Ac	Pair of leaping confronting lions standing on a lower element no longer visible. Perfect balance and symmetry Uncomplete inscription, Huban, (son of)....	Traditional subject of the Elamite repertory but treated with an unequal elegance	Amiet 1973: 10; Plate III, fig. 11
16 Ac	Pair of leaping horses (or singular leaping horse?). Inscription illegible	Elongated necks . Similar to the ones represented on Neo-Elamite glazed bricks.	Amiet 1973: 11; Plate III, fig. 12
19 P	Seal of King *Huban-šuturuk son of Šati-hupiti* Two identical leaping horses in a mirror-like position. One foreleg of each animal seems to be raised and the other flexed in front of the chest.	Cameron dates it approximately anywhere ca. the early 7th century to the third quarter of the 6th century BC (Cameron in Schmidt 1957: 64).	(Schmidt 1957: 64-65).
21 P	Two overlapping leaping horses.	Similar to seal 22 Ap	Amiet 1973: 14; plate VI, fig. 25
22 Ap	Two overlapping leaping animals		Amiet 1973: 13; Plate IV fig. 20
23 P	Two overlapping leaping horses	Elegant forms similar to the quality of seals 11, 12	Amiet 1973: 14; plate VI, fig. 24
PLATE 86: CULTIC SERIES			
18 L	Worshiper in front of a divine animal, probably the	Date: contemporary of	CS 272; Chigā Sabz,

	dragon of Marduk. Inscription: *Human-ukka.*	the "Acropole tablets" ca., 605-539 BC (Vallat 1992-14)	Van Loon 1988: 225, plate III b.
24 *	Standing anthropomorphic winged bull-ibex next to the inscription of Shuktiti son of Hupan-ahpi	delicate manufacture	Amiet 1973: , plate VII, fig. 43
25 *	Standing winged horse, elegant carving . Inscription: Unna, son of ...shari	Close to the Acropole seals	Amiet 1973: , plate VII, fig. 41
27 Ac	Standuing winged androcephalic monster	Neo-Elamite, probably ½ 6th century BC	Amiet 1973: 11; Plate III, fig. 13
28 *	Winged anthropomorphic bull-ibex standing in front of the Marduk-Nabu symbols	Seal 67 contemporary of seal 38 Seal 66 has a delicate manufacture (similar to 13), probably ½ 6th century BC	Amiet 1973: , plate VII, fig. 42
29 *	Standing lion headed griffin	Probably ½ 6th century BC	Amiet 1973: 20, plate VII, fig. 44
30 *	Two heraldic overlapping leaping lions (?)next to the divine symbols of Marduk and Nabu	2/2 6th century (Amiet) iconography close to seal 20, neo-Babylonian analogies	Amiet 1973: 19, plate VII, fig. 38

31 V-R	Jar sealing inside a room at level 7B (trench 5244) with an impression representing a standing griffin in front of the sacred symbols of Marduk and Nabu (i.e. Amiet 1973, seals 38, 42)	Belongs to a series well represented at Susa characterized by its small size (1-2 cm height), a delicate and precise detail. Example of a typically Neo-elamite glyptic (Amiet 1973, seals 41, 42, 44, 46, 47). Dated to the ½ of the 6th century BC (P. de Miroschedji 1982: 59).	R. de Mecquenem 1927; Amiet 1973: 19; P. de Miroschedji 1982: 56, fig. 3
32 *	lion headed griffin and worshiper	6th century. Carved on an orange carnelian stone, 23 mmm high and 9 mm diameter (Lambert 1970: 49).	Amiet 1973: 20, plate VII, fig. 46
33 *	lion-headed griffin and worshiper	6th century	Amiet 1973: 20, plate VII, fig. 47
34 P	Winged monster (lion headed griffin?) facing a worshiper	6th century	Amiet 1973: 14; plate VI, fig. 26
PLATE 87: HUNTERS ON FOOT AND CHARIOT SERIES			
36 Ac	Assyrian type chariots and hunters	7th century BC?	MDP IX Amiet 1973: 11; Plate III, fig. 15

37 Ac	Assyrian type chariots and hunters	7th century BC?	MDP IX Amiet 1973: 11; Plate III, fig. 14
38 V-R	Kneeling naked(?) hunter with bow shooting a leaping griffin(?)[5]	Associated to the "recent cut-style" of Babylonian tradition dated to the 7th century BC (P. de Miroschedji 1982: 56) Ville Royale II, 7B	P. de Miroschedji 1982: 51, fig. 1
39 Ap	Kneeling naked(?) hunter with bow shooting a leaping ibex (?) with returning head; remains of an inscription.	Apadana series ½ 6th century BC	Amiet 1973: , plate V, fig. 21
42 *	Kneeling hunter with bow and winged standing animal		Amiet 1973, fig. 65
44 *	Two leaping ibexes overlapping. Fake inscription	2/2 6th century	Amiet 1973: 19, plate VII, fig. 37
45 *	Keeling hunter and bow shooting two overlapping ibex	2/2 6th century	Amiet 1973: 21, plate VIII, fig. 63
46 *	Horseman with bow and kneeling hunter with dog (?)	Attached to the Acropole series (see 54 Ac). ½ 6th century BC	Amiet 1973: 21, plate VIII, fig. 57
PLATE 88: HUNTERS ON HORSEBACK SERIES			
40 Ap	Hunter on horse with bow shooting a leaping ibex with returning head (?). The horseman may be bearing a dagger.	Apadana series ½ 6th century BC	Amiet 1973: , plate V, fig. 22
54 Ac	Hunter with bow on horse. Inscription, seal of Kidada	Elongated horse and hunter Acropole series	MDP IX Amiet 1973: 12; Plate III, fig. 16
55 L	Horseman aiming spear at	Placed	CS 421 from

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[5] P. de Miroschedji suggests a winged monster composed of an ostrich's body and horse's head (Miroschedji 1982: 52 and 55).

	leaping goat-ibex that is looking back at him. f pursuing a leaping ibex with returning head	somewhere between 625 and 550 B.C. (Van Loon 1988: 224; HEL 440, seal No. 153). 2.2 x 0.9 cm; Material porphyry	Chigha Sabz; HEL plate 243: 153[6] National Museum of Iran
48 *	Horseman with spear and leaping stag, elegant, detailed design	Attached to the Acropole series	Amiet 1973: 21, plate VIII, fig. 53
50 *	Horseman with spear and leaping stag, elegant, detailed design. Bulbous headdress. Horse with tail decorations (such as 54 Ac and 56 *)	Attached to the Acropole series	Amiet 1973: 21, plate VIII, fig. 54
51 *	Horseman and leaping ibex	Attached to the Acropole series	Amiet 1973: 21, plate VIII, fig. 55
52 *	Seal of *Sunkishup son of Shamash-Adu.* Horseman hurling spear at antelope.	Attached to the Acropole series; 3.3 x 1.6 cm White chalcedony; fine quality of the material	Porada 1948: 102, fig. 812 Amiet 1973: 21, plate VIII, fig. 51. Collection Pierpont Morgan Library
53 *	Seal of *Ayanaka, son of Pirayatish.* Distinctive horseman with spear chasing a standing lion with spread arms.[7] Headdress similar to that seen on the head of Kurash (seal 49*) This horseman wears trousers.	Contemporary of the seals from the Acropole (Amiet 1973: 21, plate VIII, fig. 52). White Chalcedony; fine quality of the material	Menant 1883: 153; Amiet 1973: 21, plate VIII, fig. 52 British Museum

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[6] CS 421, Level 17, elevation –3.5 meters; Length 2.5 cm, Diameter 0.9 cm; Material porphyry (HEL pg, 466, seal No. 153)

[7] Lion out of the Assyrian hunting reliefs.

56 *	Seal of *Shutur-huban son of Hupan-tashu*[8] Horseman in leaping horse with spear pursuing a running ostric	Attached to the Acropole series; Rose quartz	C.H.Gordon 1939: 27-28, plate X, fig. 86. Amiet 1973: 19, plate VIII, fig. 56 Walters Art Gallery 42.443
57 L	Lance bearer pursuing a leaping ibex	Neo-Elamite II period c. 725-520 B.C	Seal Sor 862 Surkh Dum-i Luri . (Van Loon 1988: 222, pl. I a and b)
PLATE 90: Excavated Luristan Seals			
61 L	Seal L. 61. The foot-clutch dance. "Two men, each holding or slapping raised foot with one hand; one man raising other hand, other extending it; bird and lentoid in sky; terminal: two monkeys, one on tree; cross above boar, line borders."	Room 3, elevation 7.25. Floor Hoard assigned to level 2B. 4.8 cm long, 1.5 cm diam. Faience.	Schmidt et.al. 1989, Plate 236, fig. 74, sor 1282; Surkh Dum-i-Luri Pg. 460. Level 3,2 B
62 L	"Two rampant bulls with extended forelegs flanking stylized palm (?) tree; terminal: star; line borders. Description pg. 424.	2.7 cm x 1.1 diam.	Schmidt et.al. 1989, Plate 236, fig. 81, Sor 565; Surkh Dum-i-Luri Level 2, 1 Black stone
63 L	Two rampant winged bulls with bent forelegs flanking stylized tree; terminal star. Description pg. 425	Wall hoard-wall between rooms 2,23. elevation 6.85-7.75. Assigned to level 2C.. 3.6 long x 1.6 diam..	Schmidt et.al. 1989, Plate 236, fig 82, Sor 1485; Surkh Dum-i-Luri Level 2/23, 2C Chalcedony

64 L	Pair of rampant winged bulls with bent forelegs flanking stylized tree; terminal star.	Description pg. 425. 2.5 long x 1.3 diam.	Schmidt et.al. 1989, Plate 236, fig. 83, Sor 943; Surkh Dum-i-Luri 11N, 1 Alabaster,
65 L	Pair of rwo rampant bulls flanking low tree; terminal; moon over star. Description pg. 425.	Floor Hoard, Step 2: 6.72-7.20 (elevation). Assigned to level 2C (table 8). 2.8cm long x 1.0 diam.	Schmidt et.al. 1989, Plate 236, fig. 84, Sor 643; Surkh Dum-i-Luri 1-2, 2C buff stone,
66 L	Two bull-men grasping stylized palm (?) tree; terminal kneeling lion headed genie holding bird; small stars and fly around him” Description pg. 426.	3.7 long x 1.4 diam.	Schmidt et.al. 1989, Plate 237, fig. 85, Sor 844 ; Surkh Dum-i-Luri, 11N, 1 bitumen
67 L	“Two rampant goats flanking stylized palm (?) tree; terminal: kneeling archer; twelve-rayed sun above, bird below him. Description pg. 426.	4.3 cm long x 1.3 diam.	Schmidt et.al. 1989, Plate 237, fig. 86, Sor 1299; Surkh Dum-i-Luri, 7, 2B-A bitumen
68 L	. “Two rampant goats flaking plant and looking back at moon; triple. Ground line; line borders.	2.9 long cm x 1.2 cm diam. Steatite	Schmidt et.al. 1989, Plate 237, fig. 87; CS 422; Chigā Sabz 17, -3.70
69 L	“two reptile-headed winged monsters fighting over goat’s head and neck; globe between them; terminal: bull’s head; line borders. Description pg. 429.	2.9 cm. long x 1.0 diam.	Schmidt et.al. 1989, Plate 238, fig. 96, Sor 923; Surkh Dum-i-Luri, 1,2 (B)?, Copper

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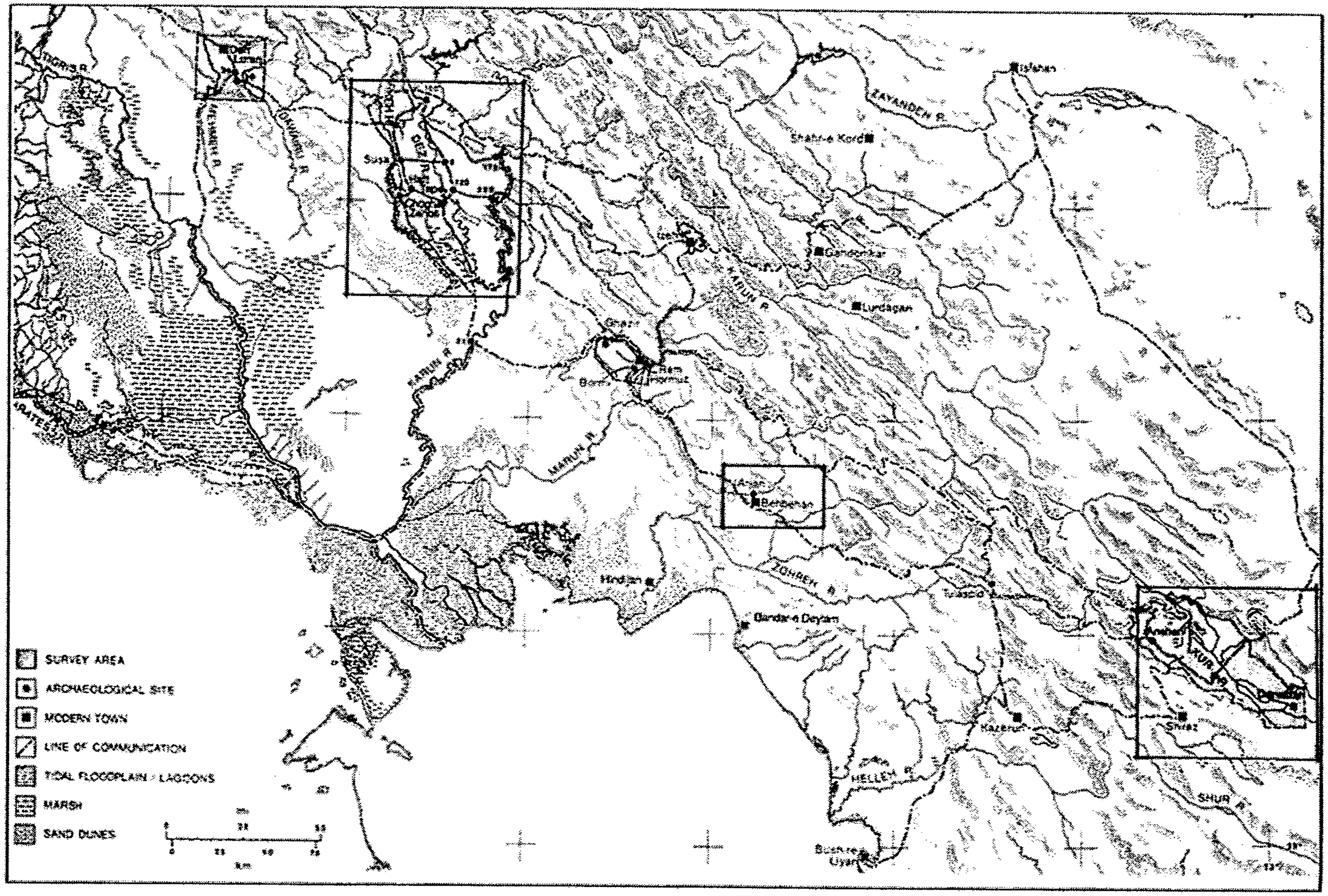
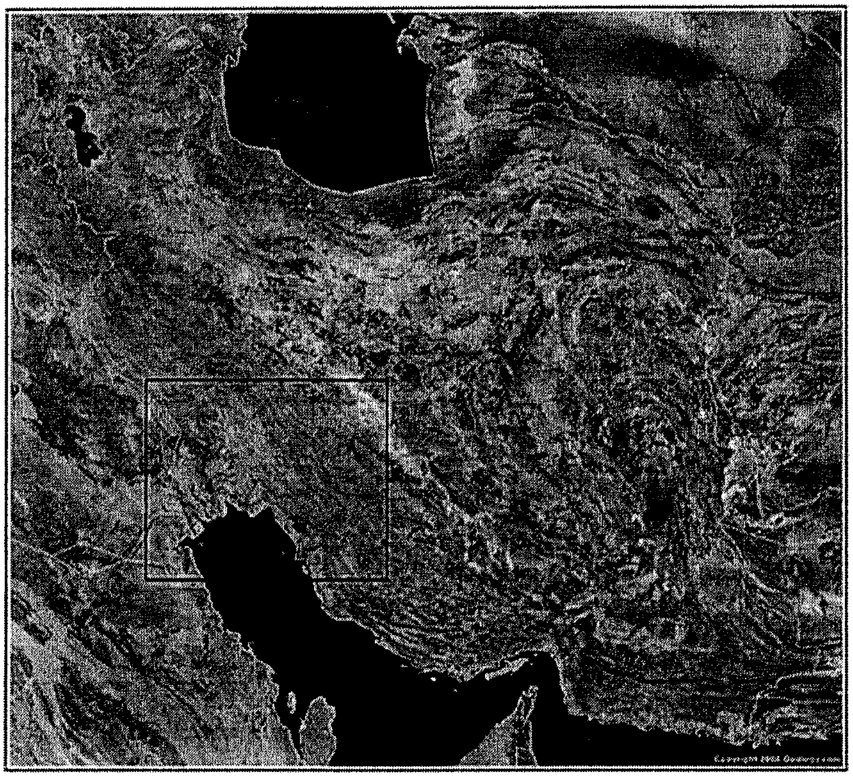


Map of regional surveys in southwestern Iran with inclusion of Arjan

PLATE 2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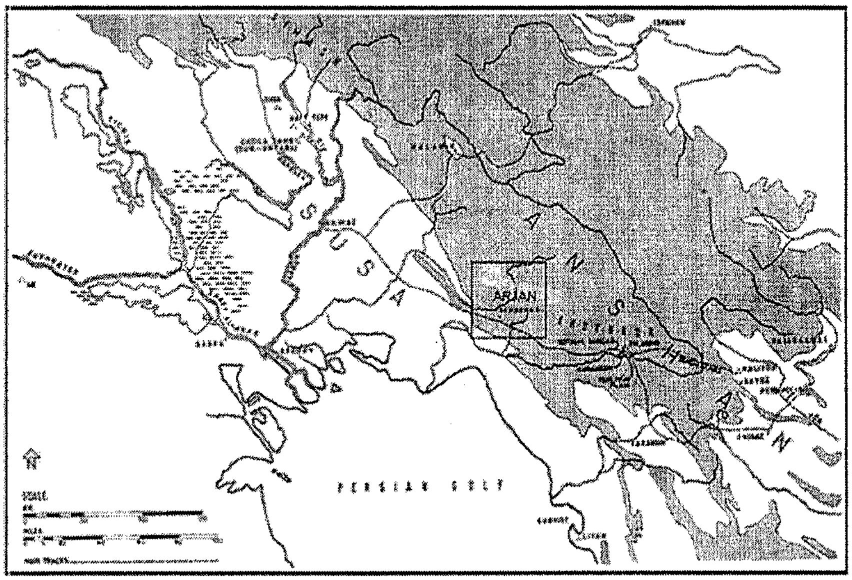
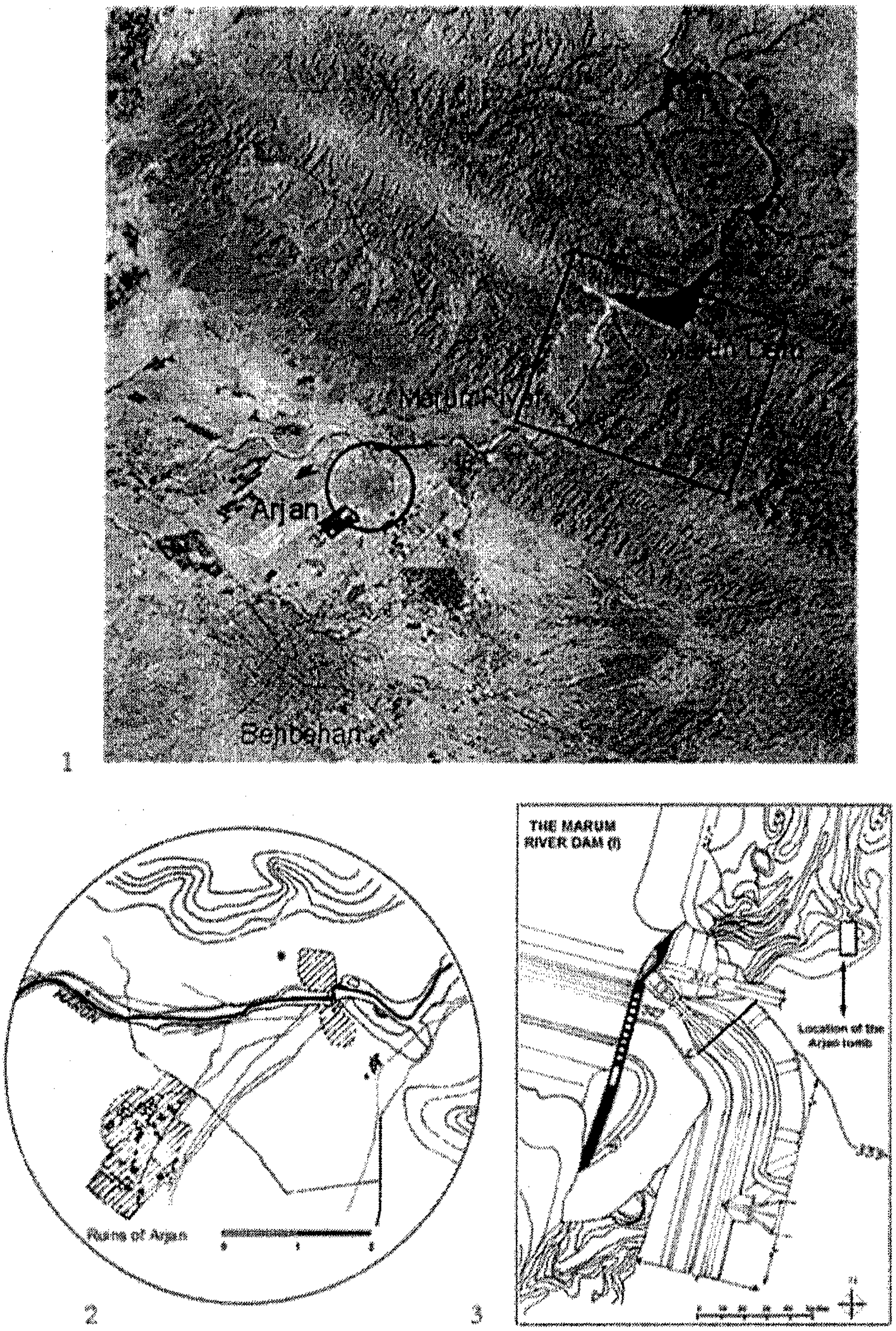


2

Satellite photograph of the Iranian territory (2:1) and map of south-west Iran (2:2)



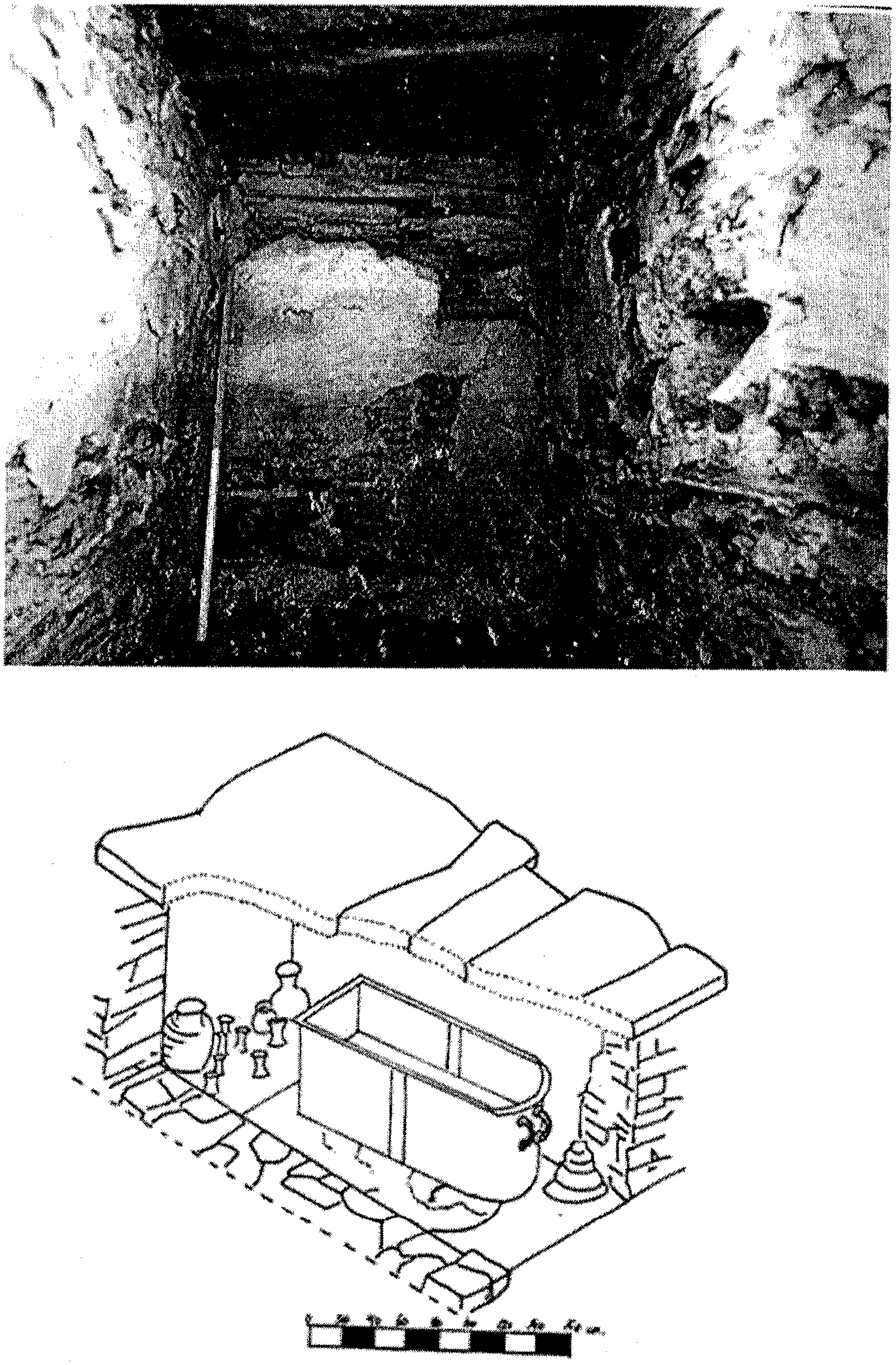
1

2

3

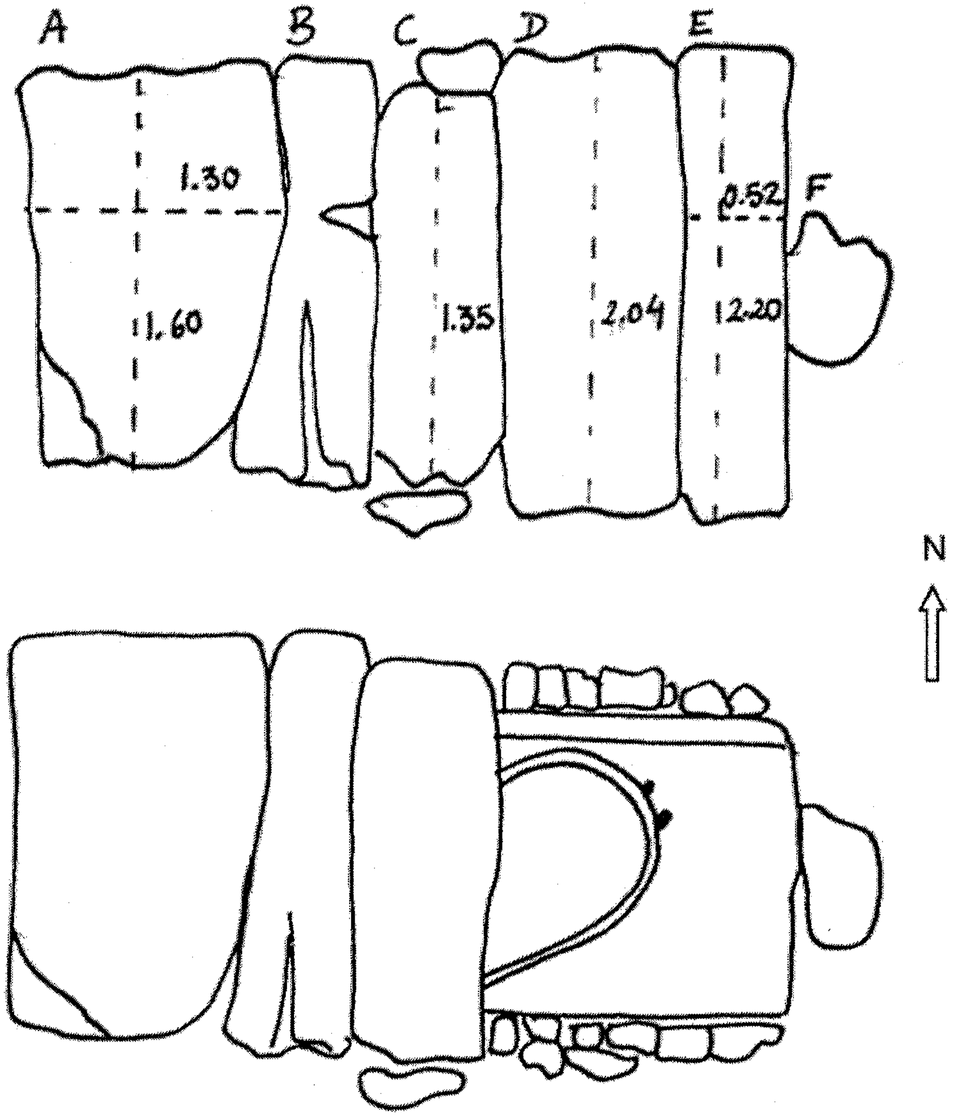
Landsat image and drawings showing the locations of Behbahan, Arjan, the Marum River, and the Arjan tomb

PLATE 4



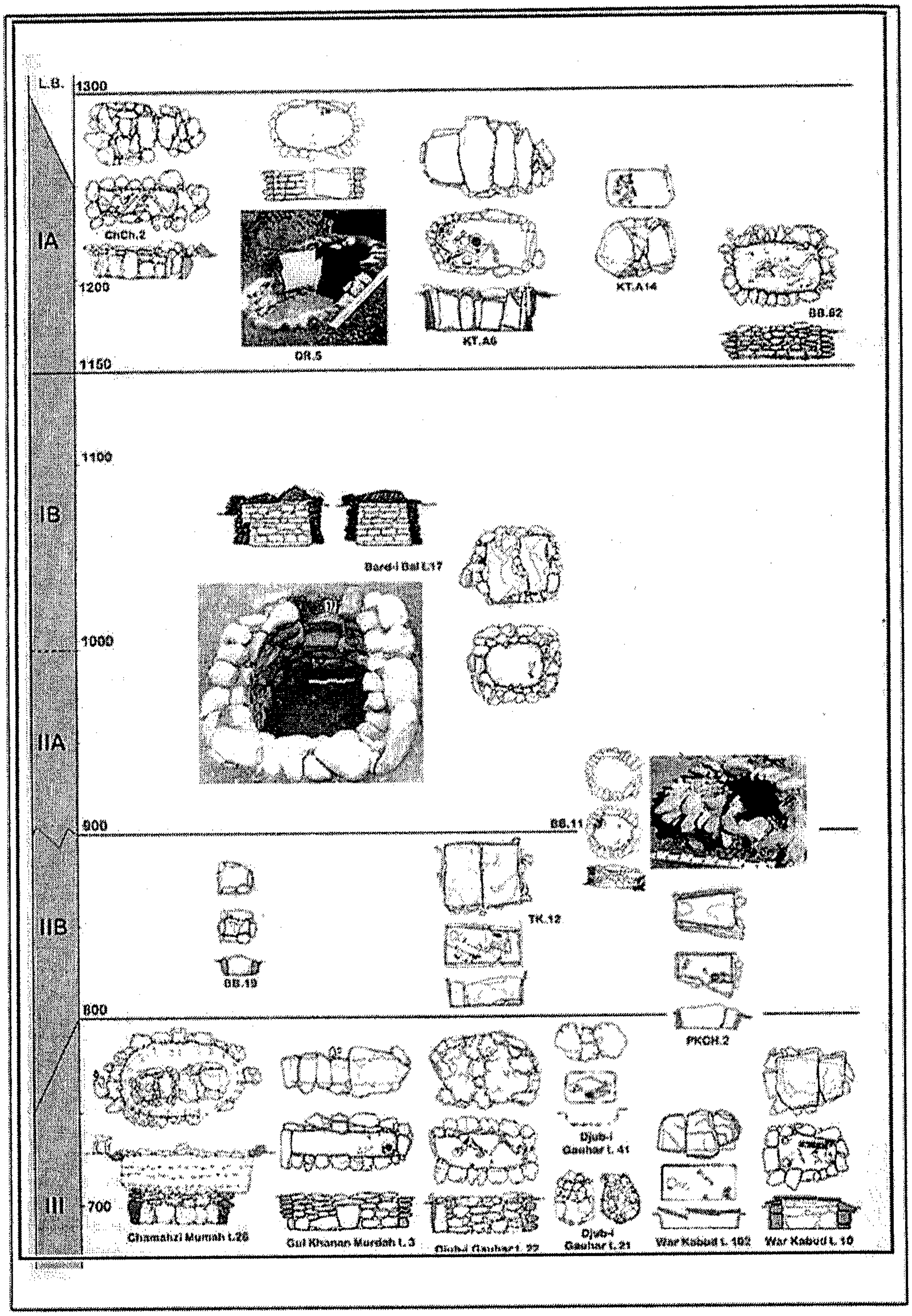
Photograph and drawing of the Arjan tomb's interior chamber

PLATE 5



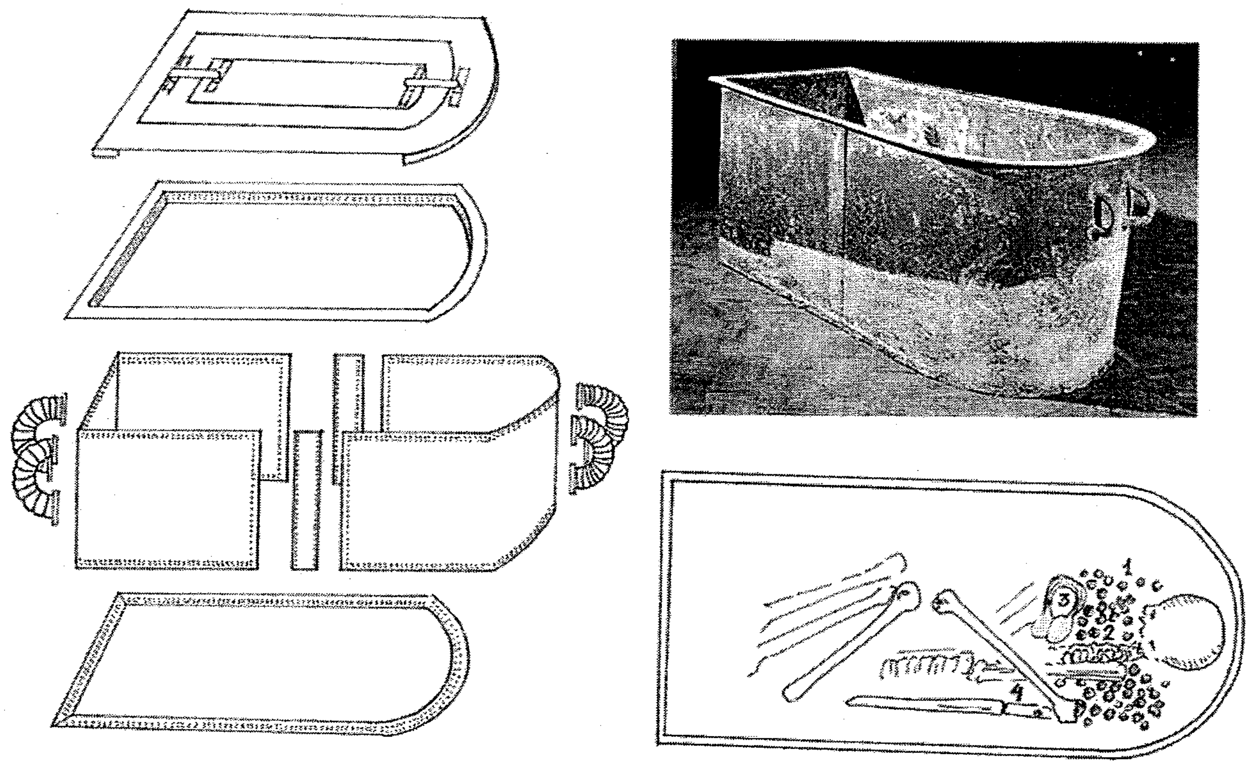
Drawing of the Arjan burial slabs and inner chamber with coffin

PLATE 6



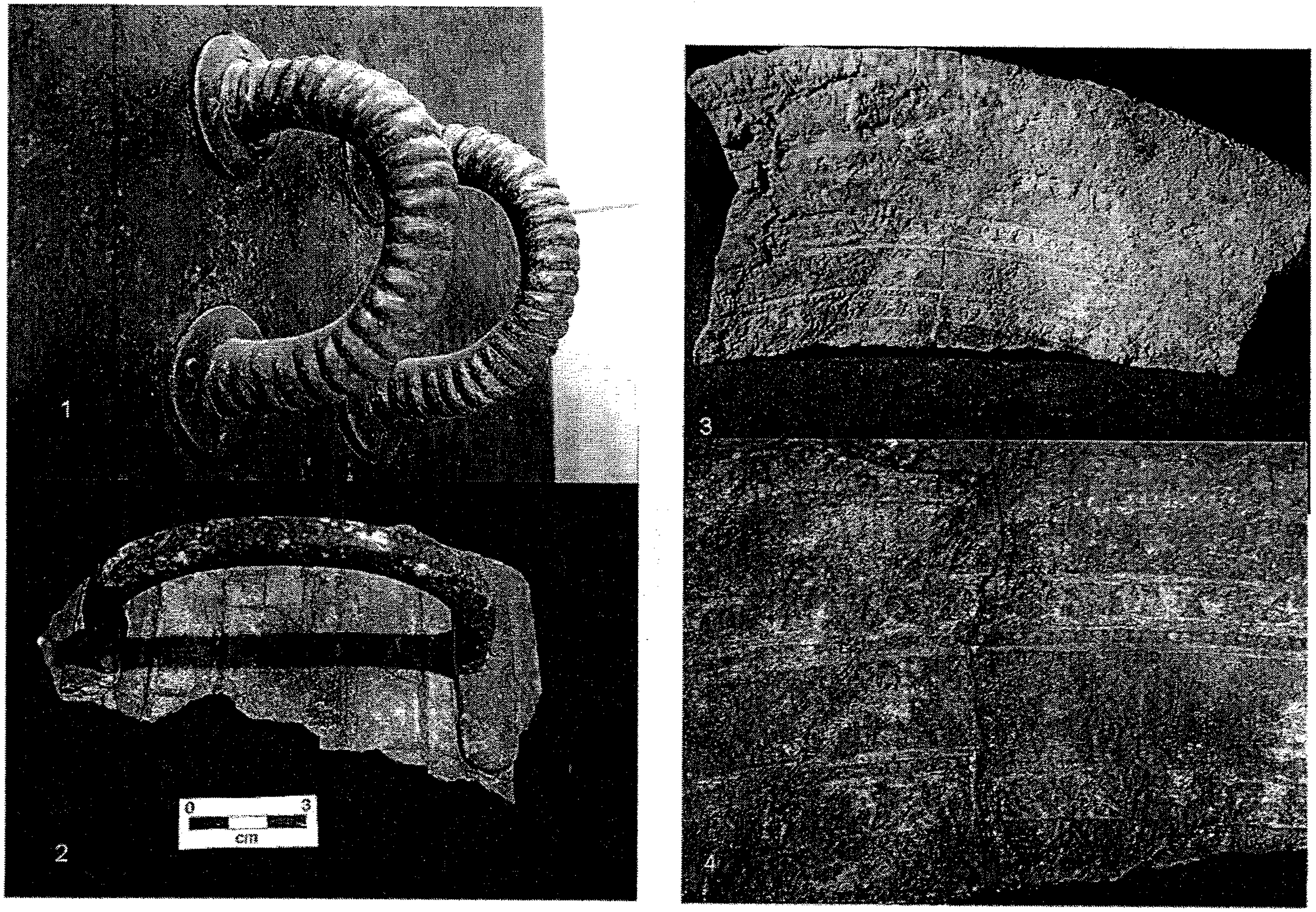
Iron Age Luristan graveyards and tomb structures from the Pusht-i Kuh

PLATE 7



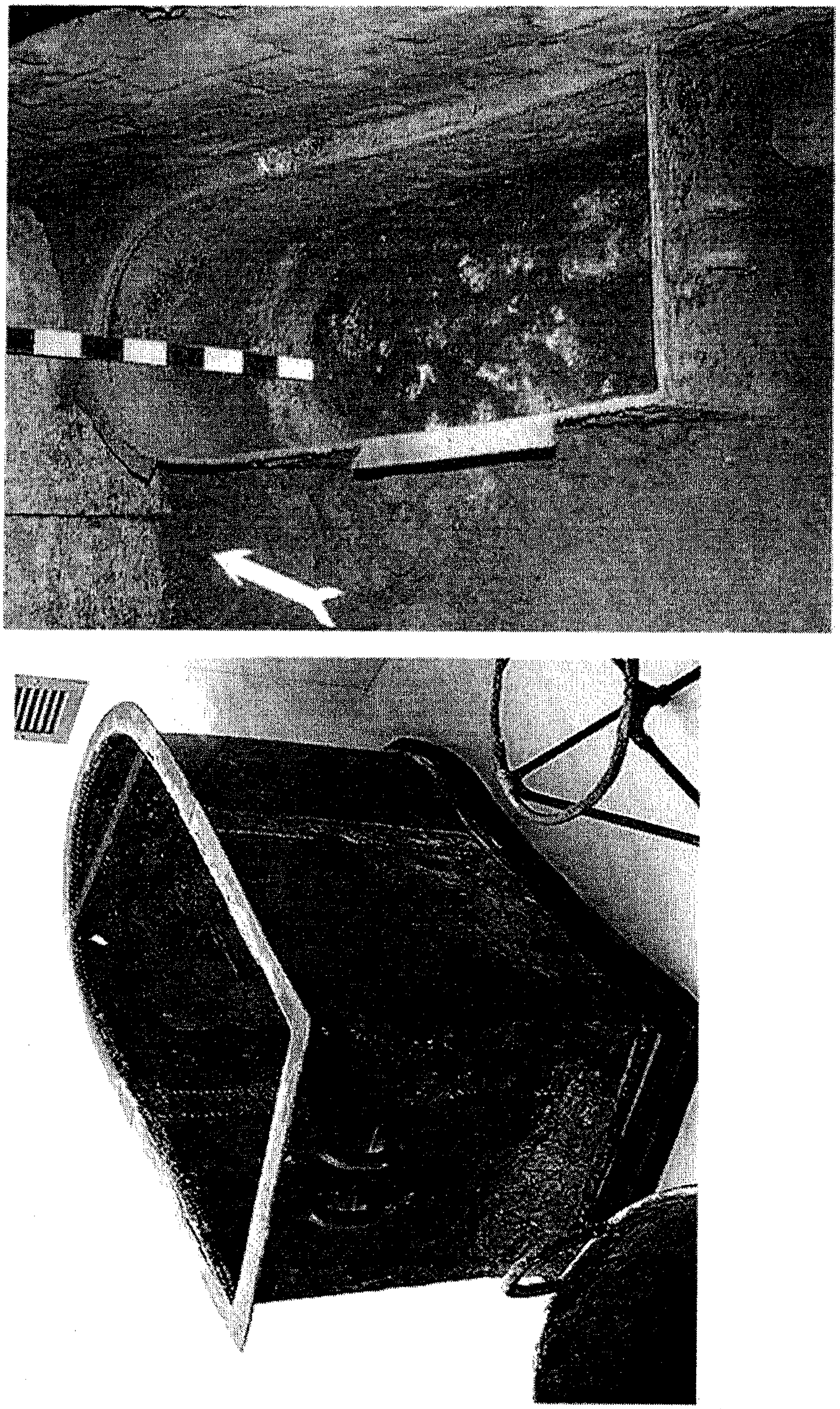
The Arjan Bathtub Coffin

PLATE 8



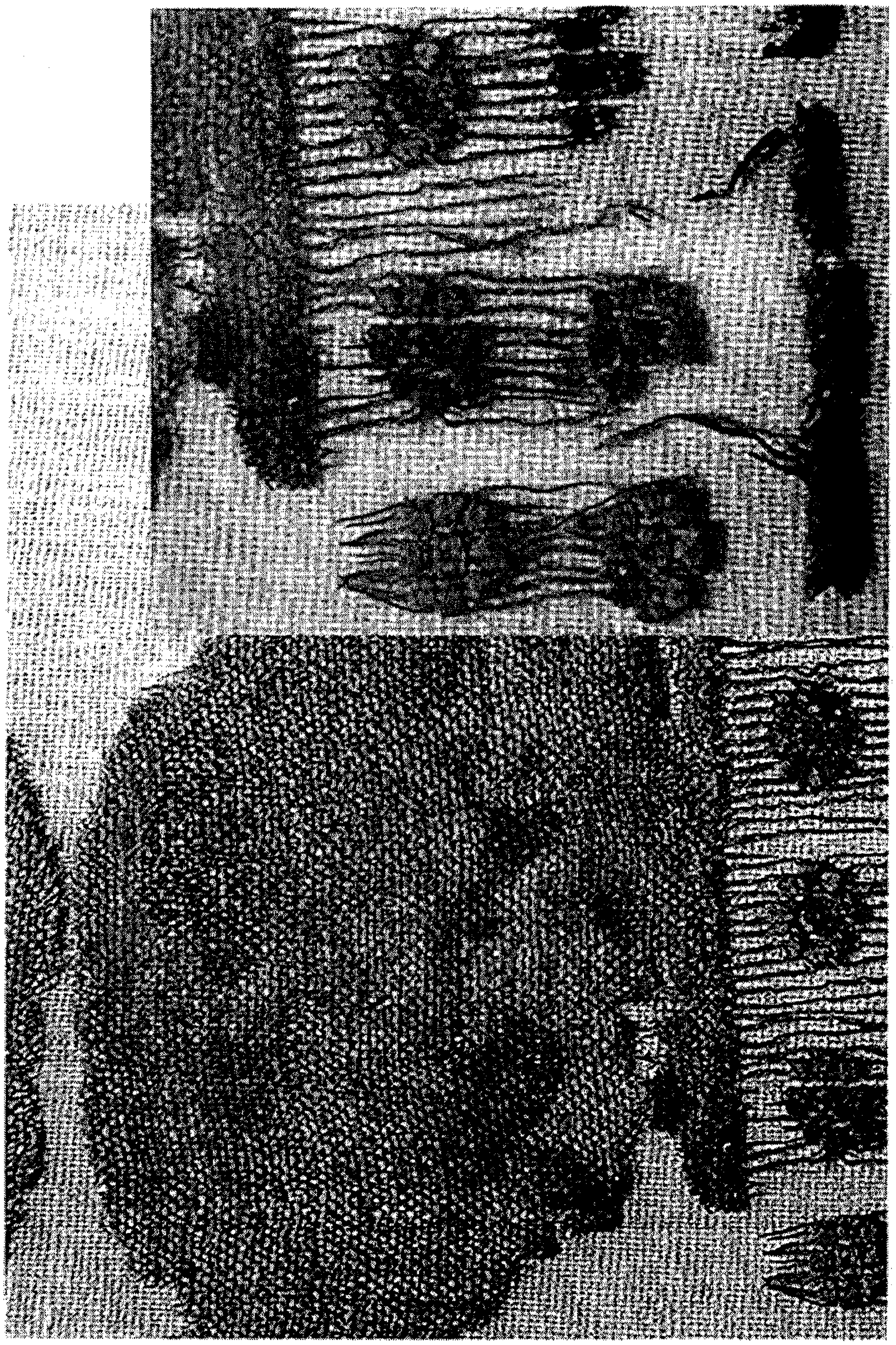
The Arjan coffin: side handles (1); handle from lid, (2) lid with lotus and bud motif (3,4)

PLATE 9



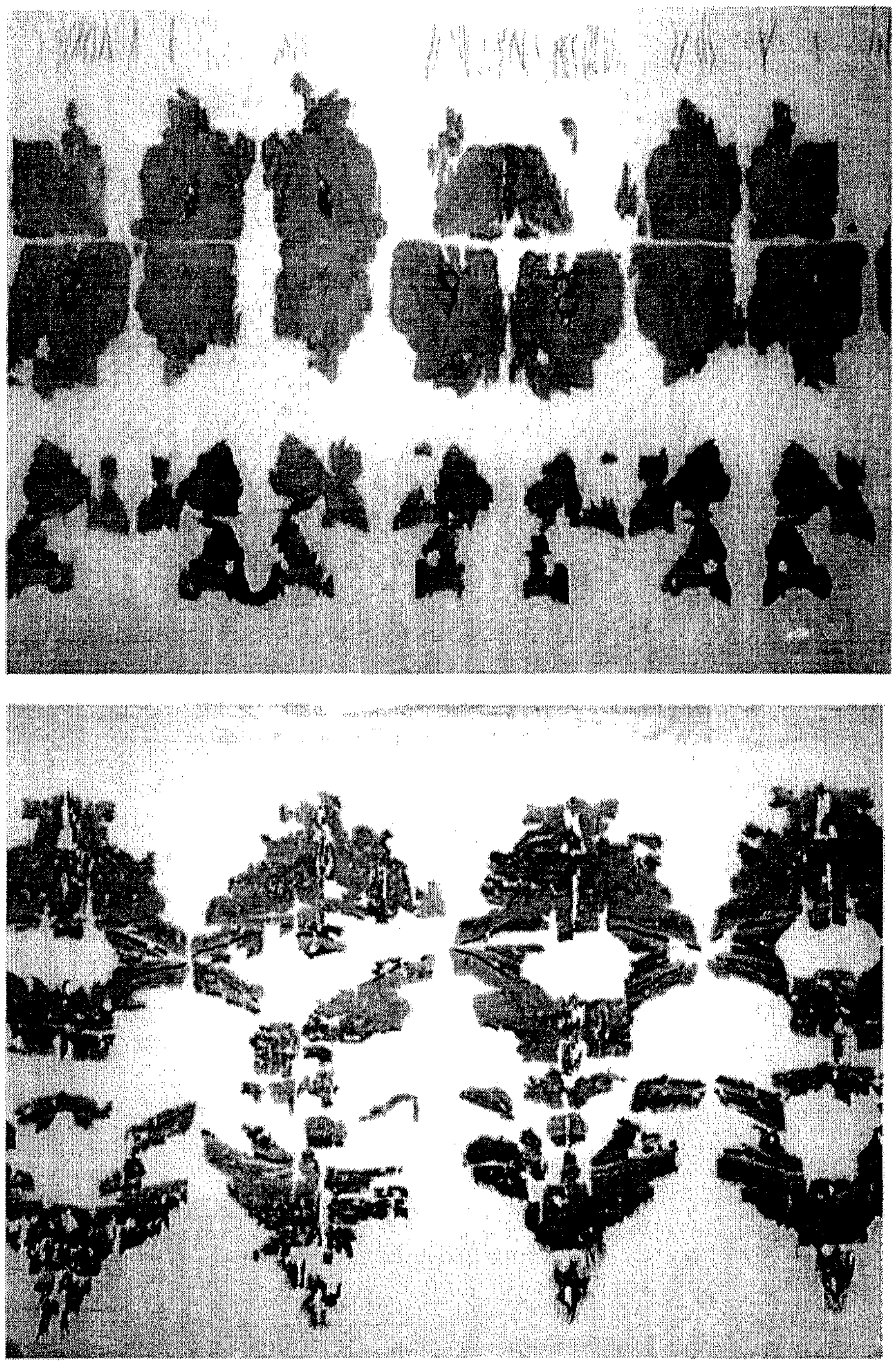
Bronze coffins from Ur and Nimrud

PLATE 10



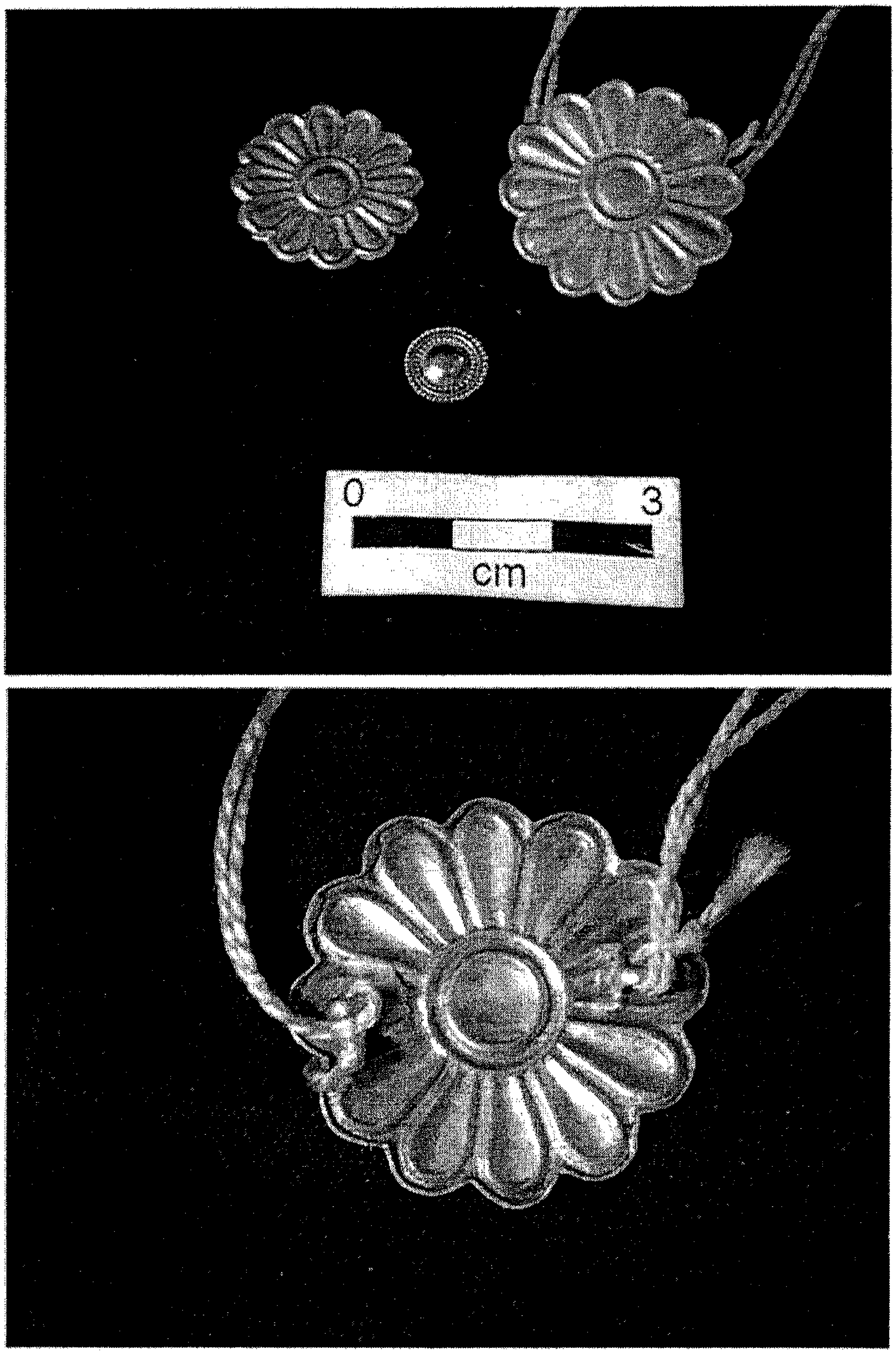
Textile I with detail of embroidered rosettes

PLATE 11



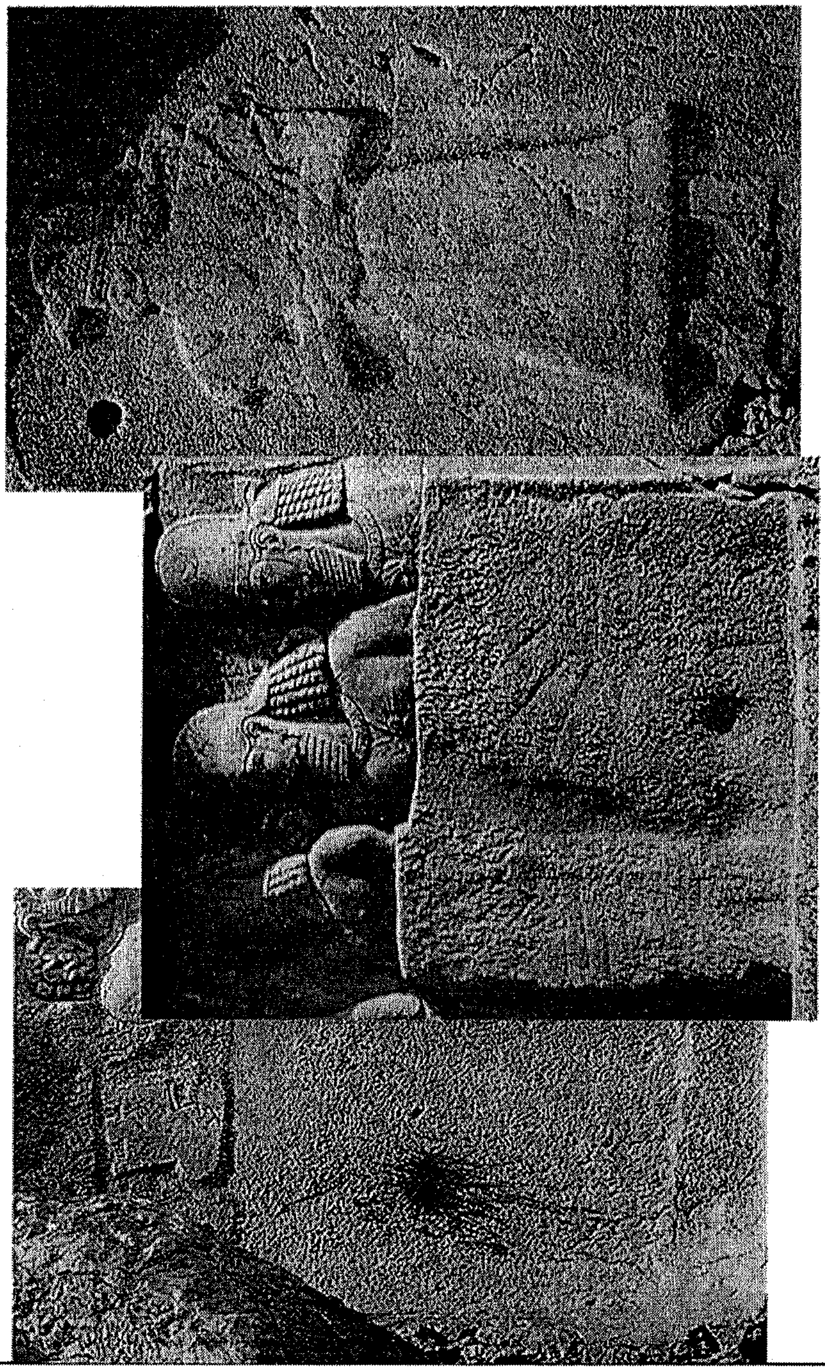
Textiles II and III

PLATE 12



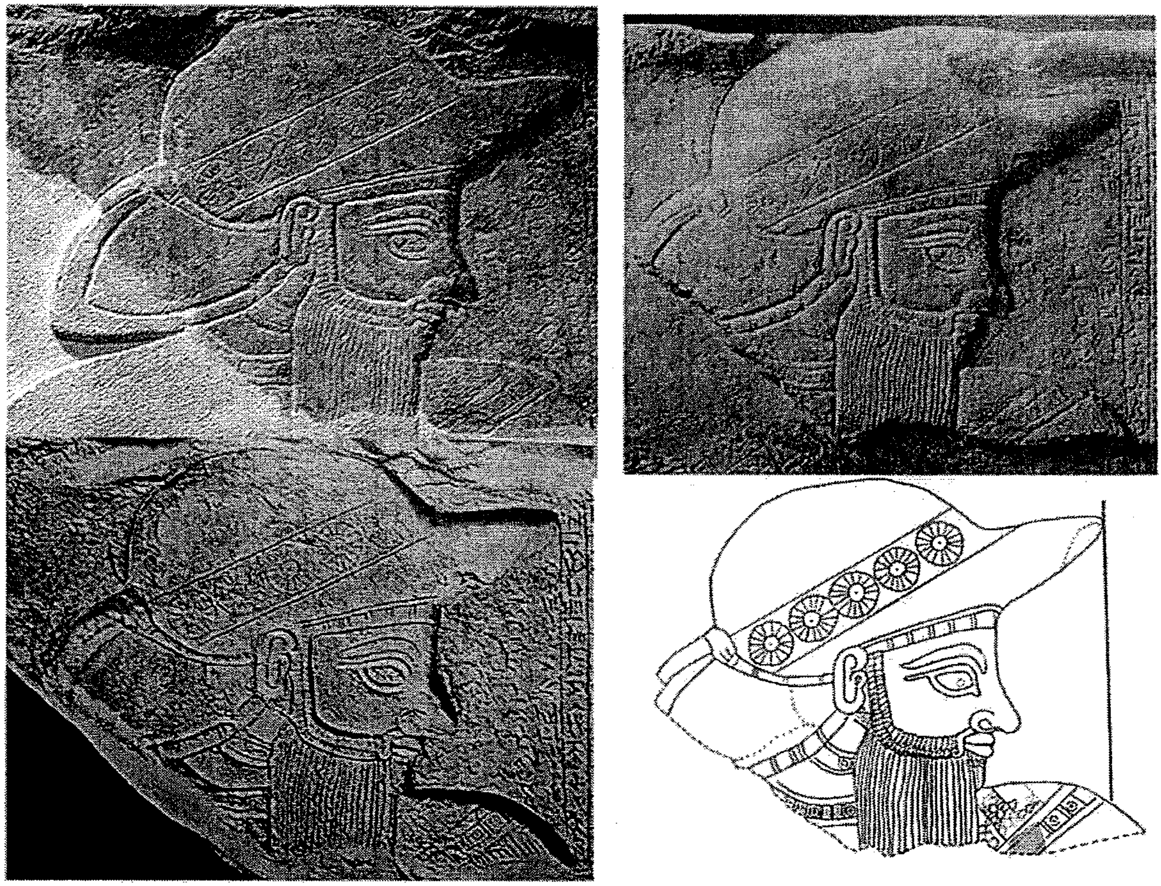
View of front and back of bracteates

PLATE 13



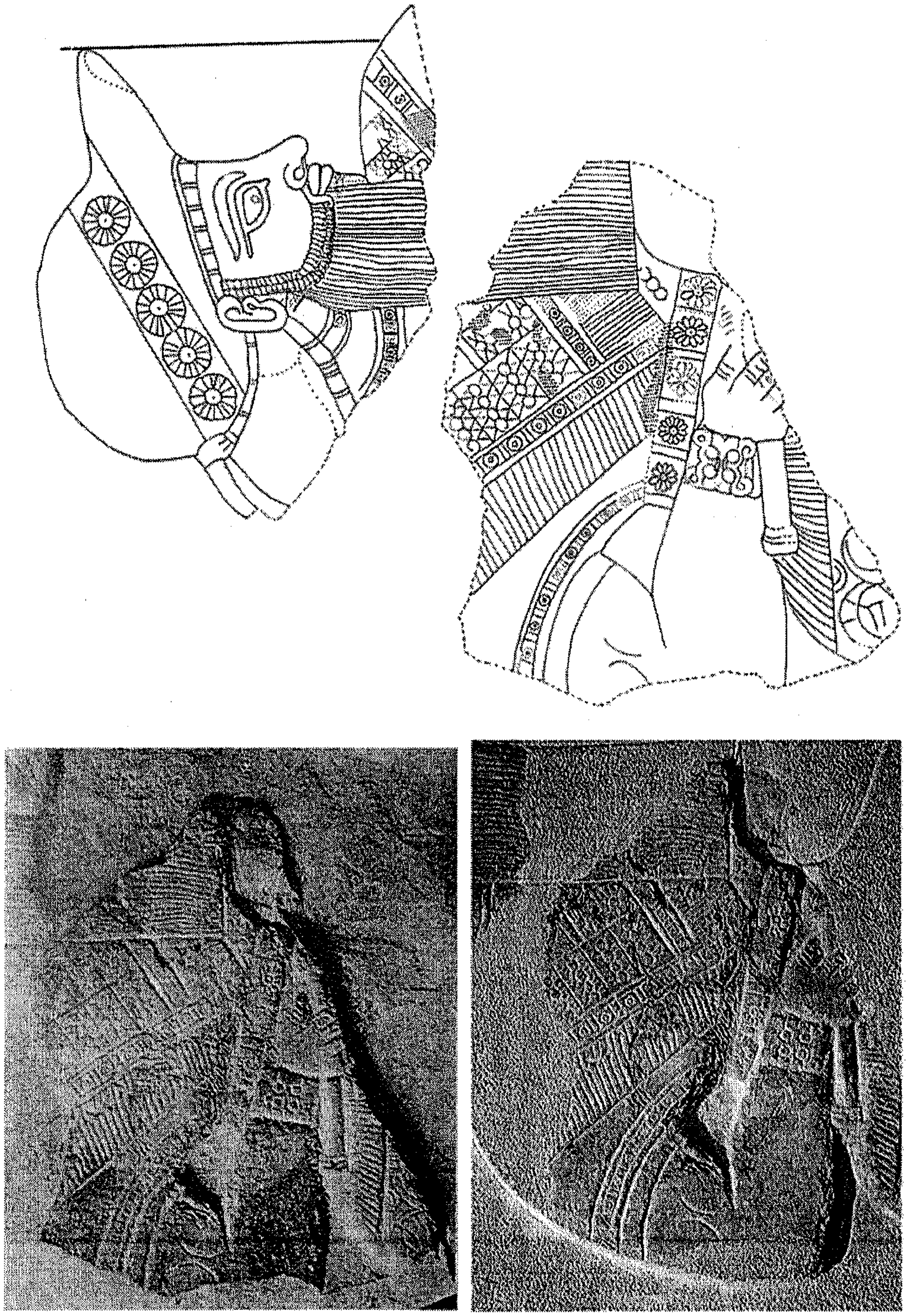
Elamite Remains from Naqs-i Rustam

PLATE 14



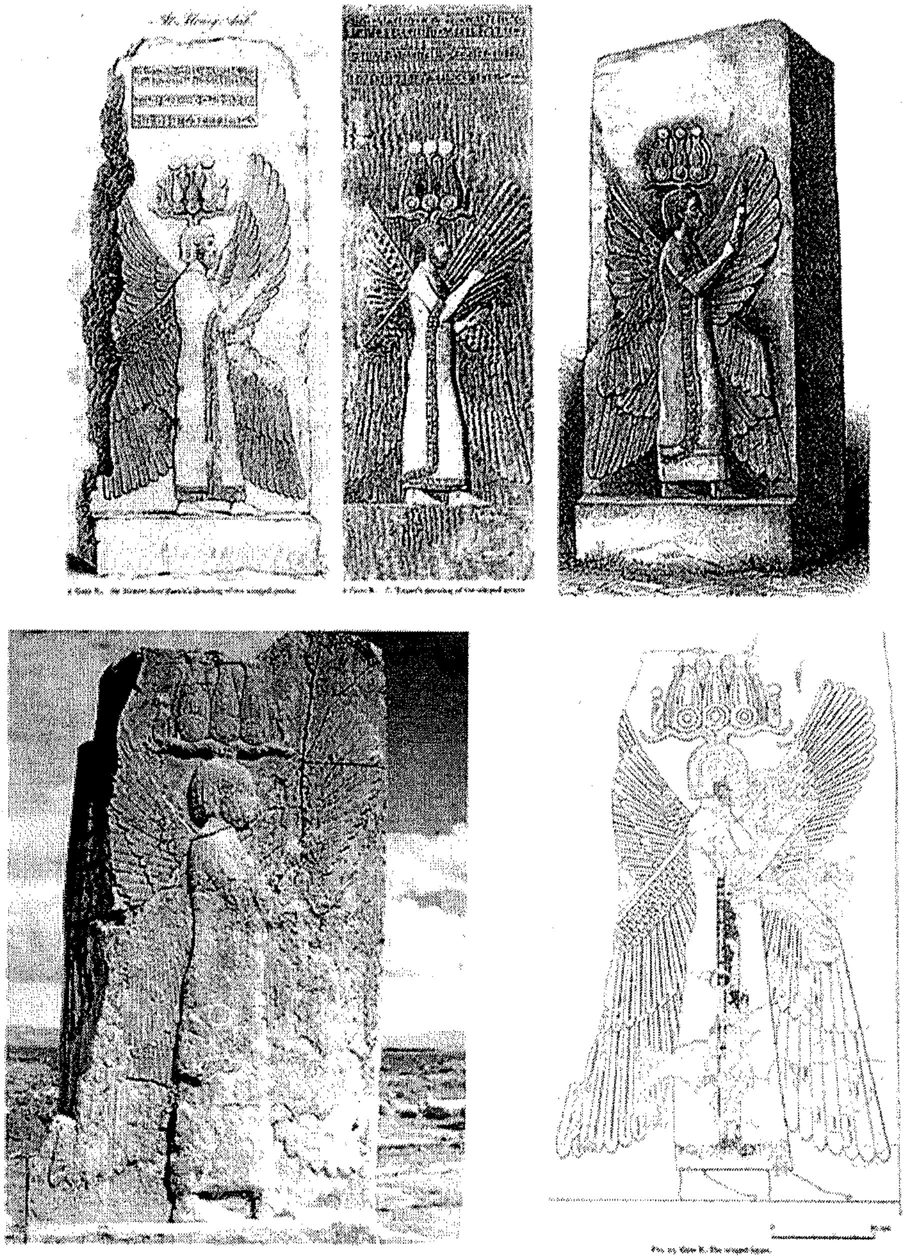
Photographic images and rawing of the Head of Atta-Hamiti-Inšušinak

PLATE 15

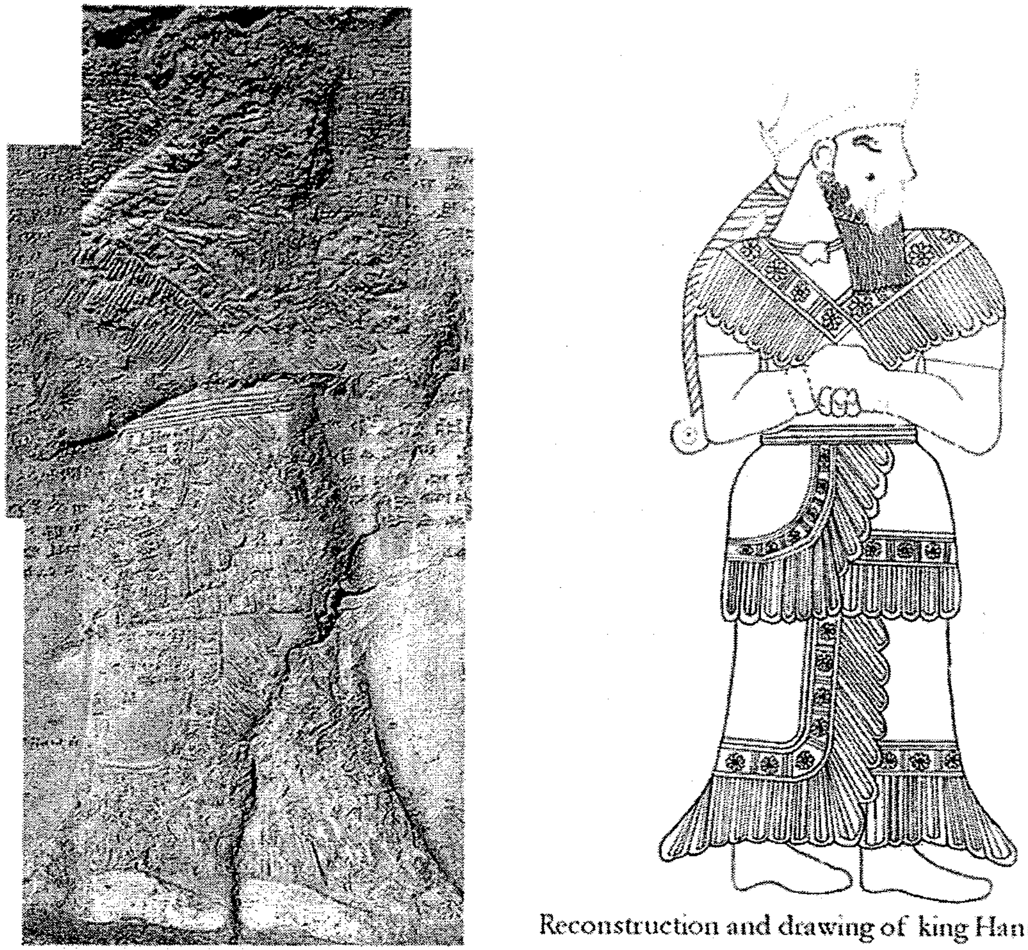


Sculpted garment of Atta-Hamiti-Inšušinak and drawing reconstruction

PLATE 16

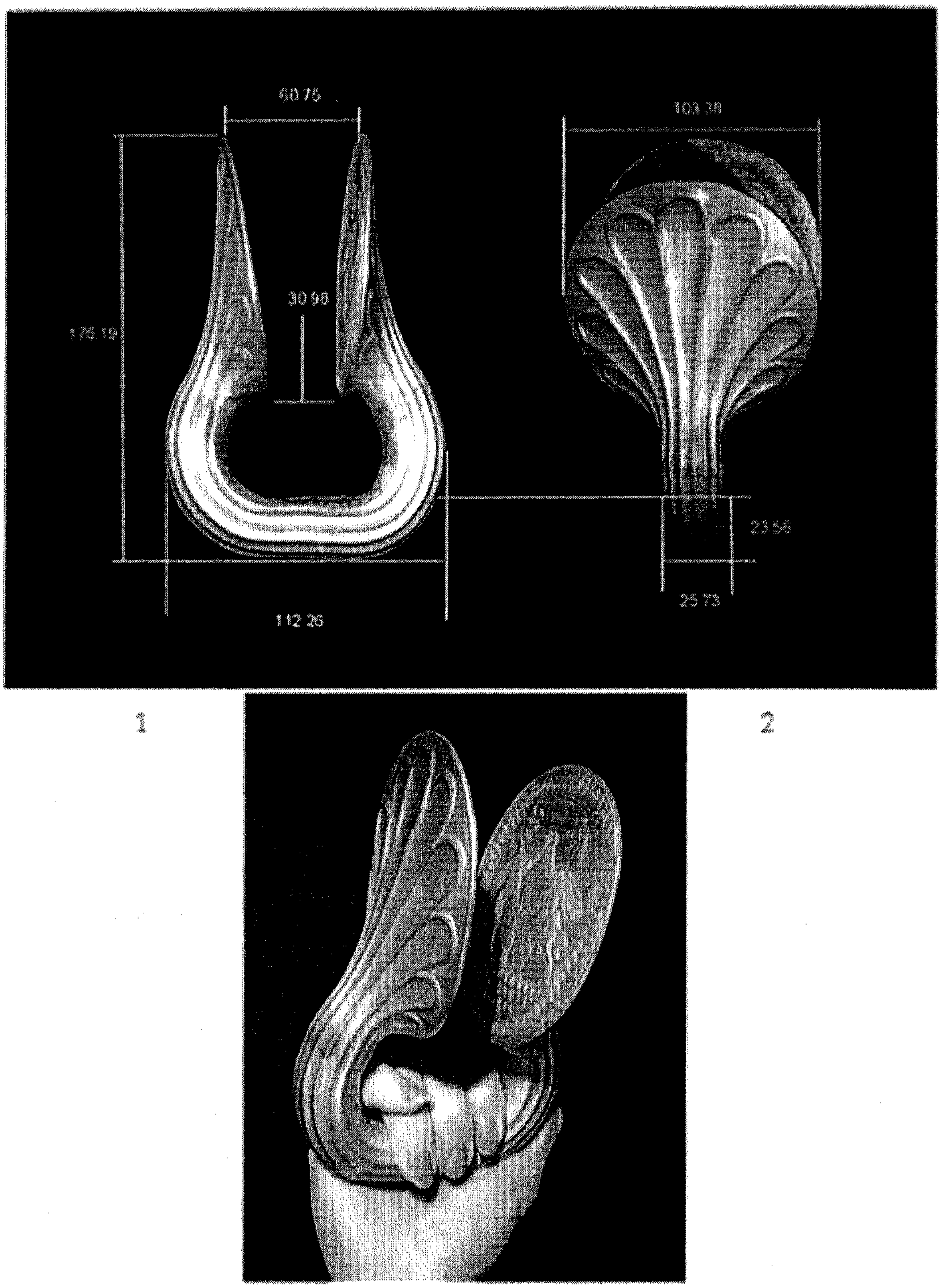


The winged genius from gate R at Pasargadae



Reconstruction and drawing of king Hanni, Kul-i Farah I

PLATE 18



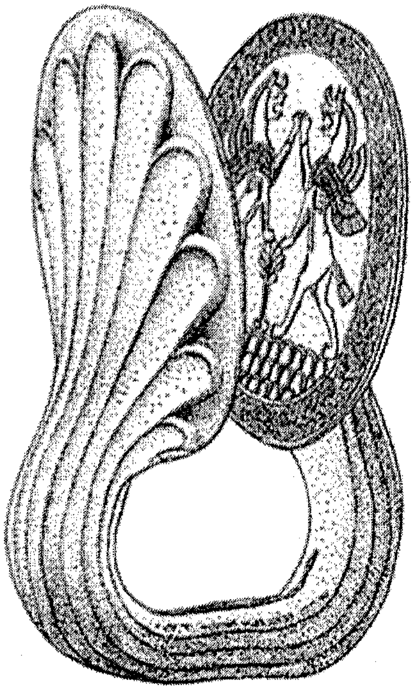
1

2

3

The Arjan Ring (dimensions in mm)

PLATE 19



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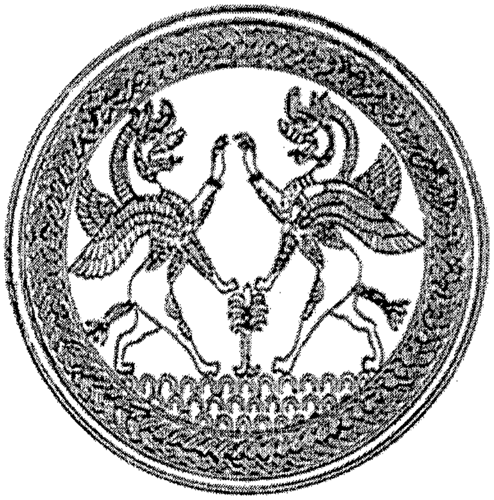

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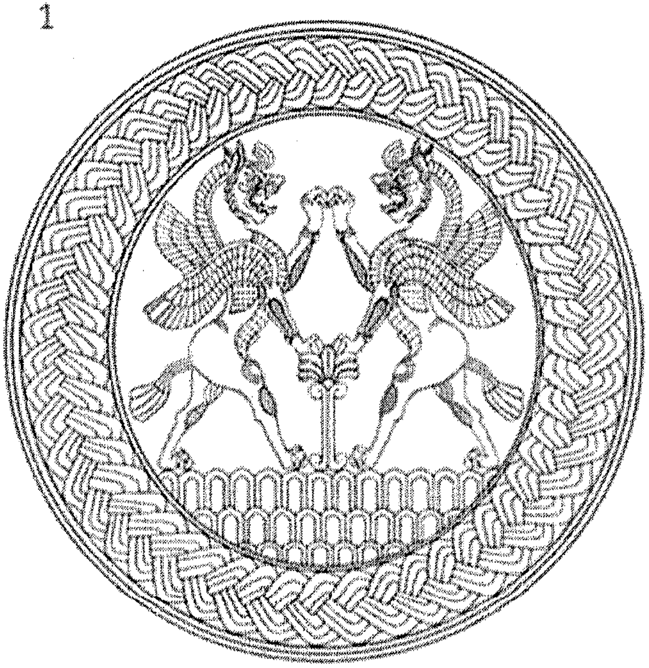
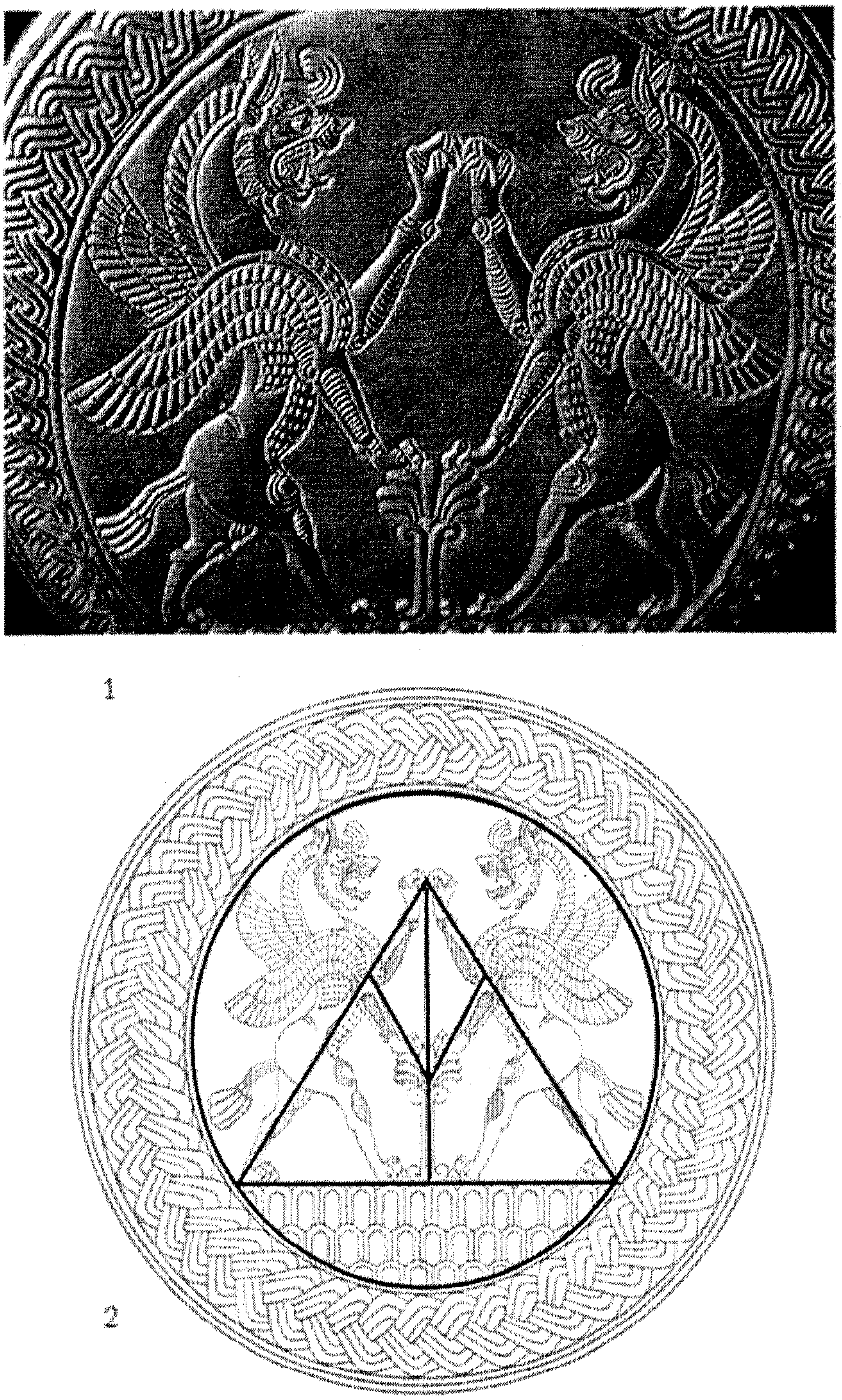


3

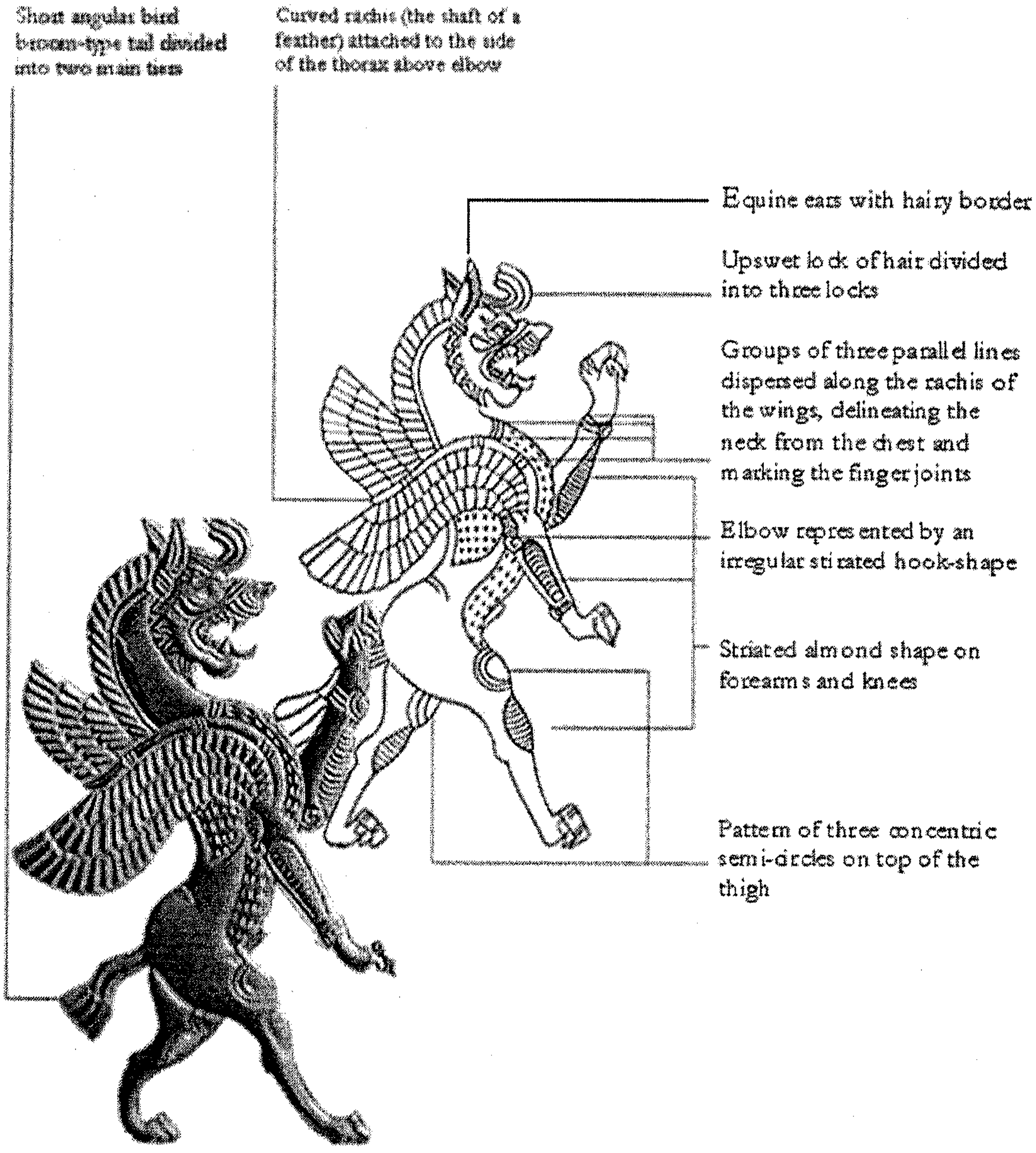
1985 drawings (1, 2) and new drawing of the Arjan ring (3)

PLATE 20



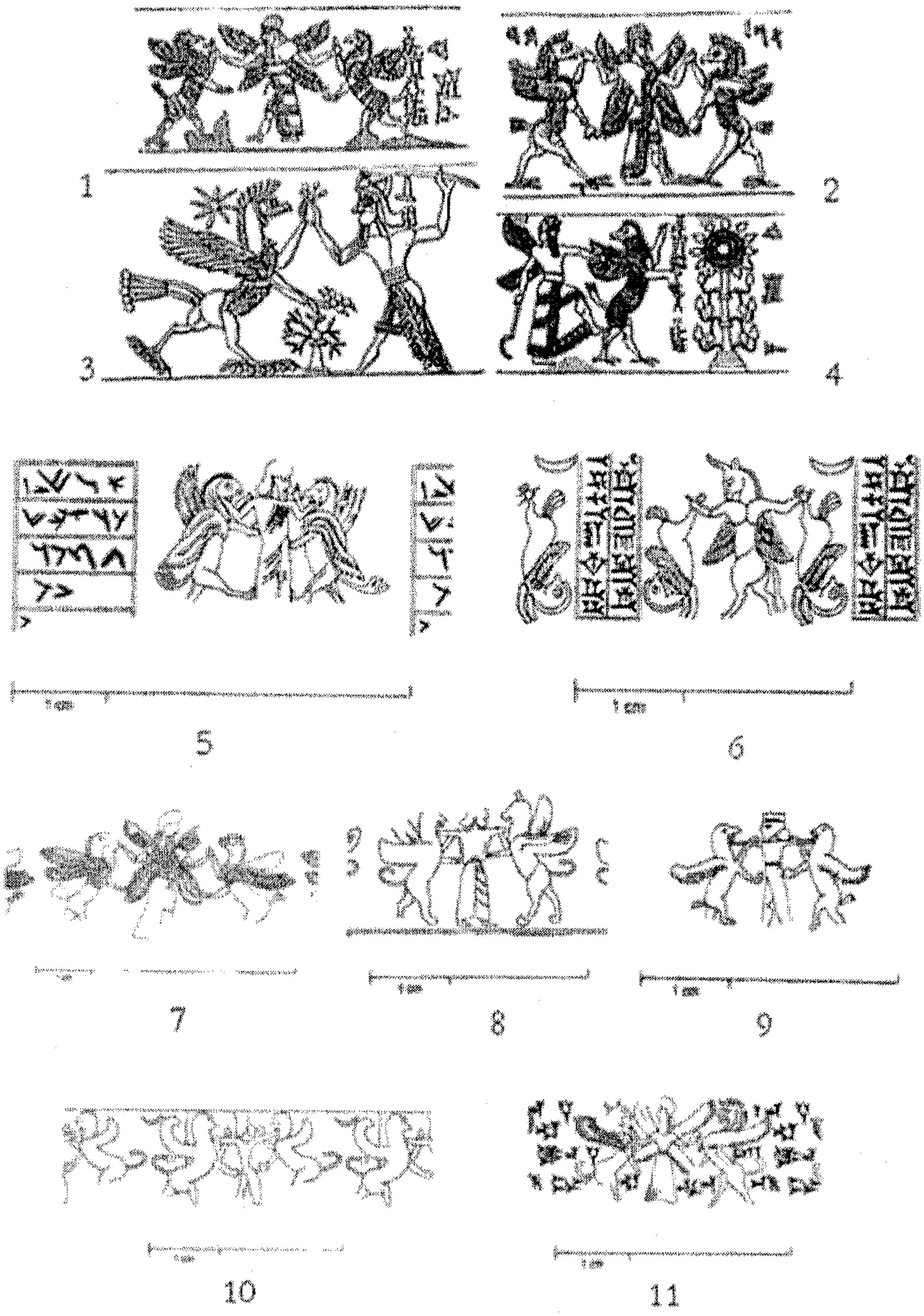
Heraldic composition represented in the Arjan ring (1)
and associated key structural geometric elements (2)

PLATE 21

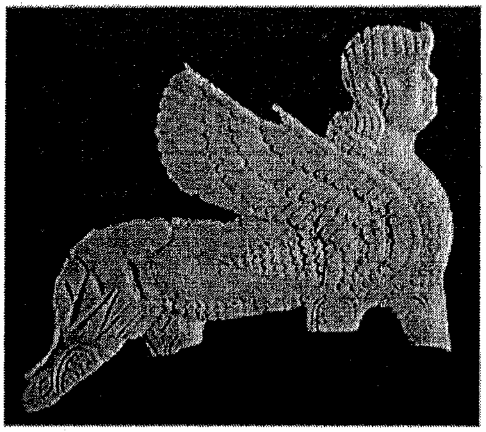
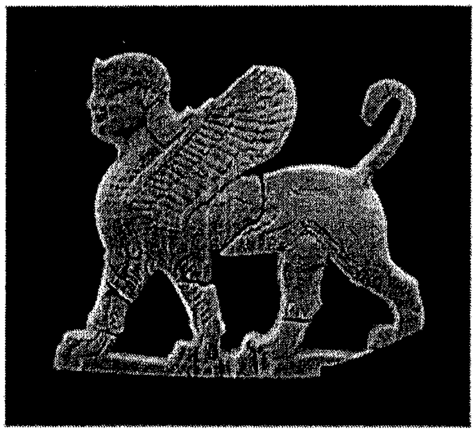
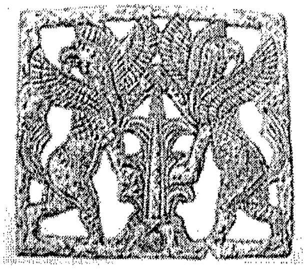

Short angular bird broom-type tail divided into two main tiers
Curved rachis (the shaft of a feather) attached to the side of the thorax above elbow
Equine ears with hairy border
Upswet lock of hair divided into three locks
Groups of three parallel lines dispersed along the rachis of the wings, delineating the neck from the chest and marking the finger joints
Elbow represented by an irregular striated hook-shape
Striated almond shape on forearms and knees
Pattern of three concentric semi-circles on top of the thigh

Key stylistic features depicted in the Arjan griffin

PLATE 22



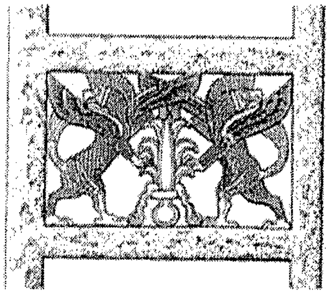
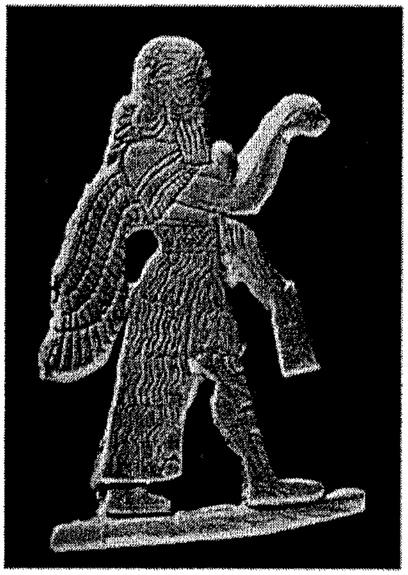
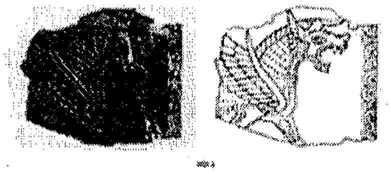
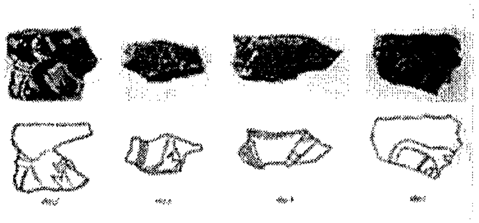
Neo-Assyrian (1-4) and Persian (5-11) seals representing bird-headed griffins

1 - 2

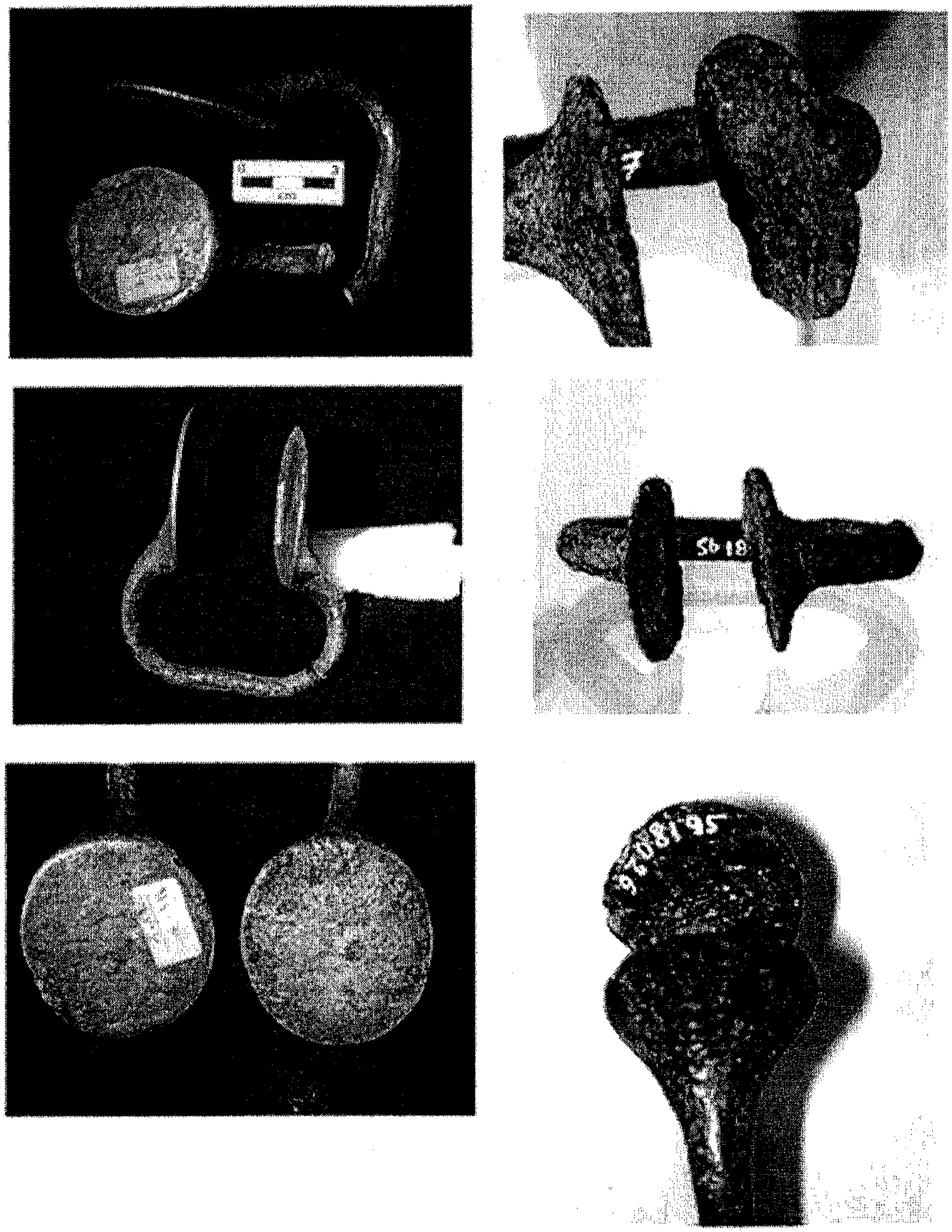
3 - 4

5
6 —
7

Decorative furniture attachments from Nimrud: shell sphinxes and cone bearer (1, 2, 6), copper plaques (3, 4), and ivory fragments (5, 7)

PLATE 24

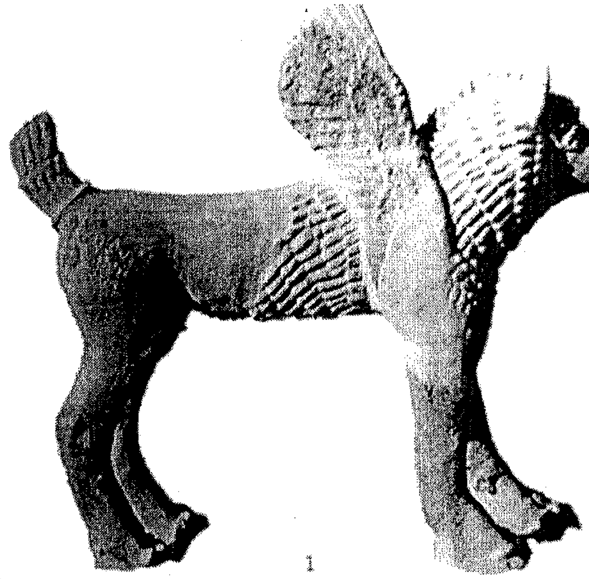


1-2

3-4

5-6

Elamite silver "ring" from Tchoga Zanbil (1, 3, 5),
and two bronze "rings" from Susa (2, 4, 6)



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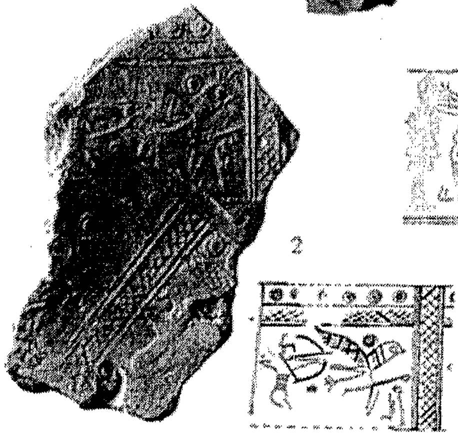

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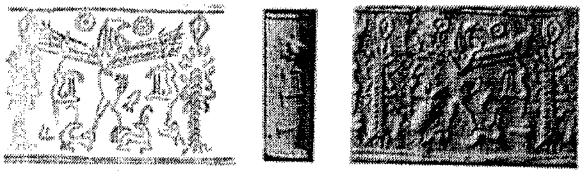

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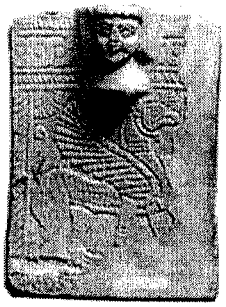

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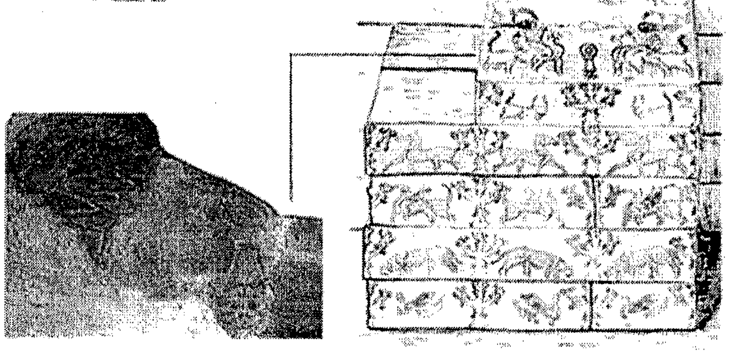
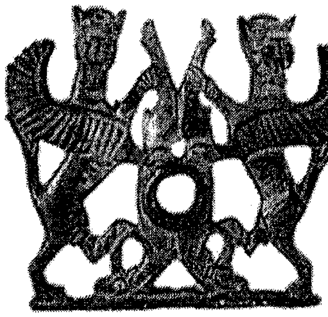


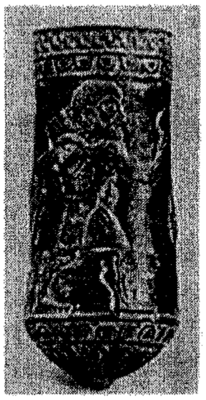
5

Middle Elamite (1, 2, 3) and Neo-Elamite (4, 5) griffins

PLATE 26

1





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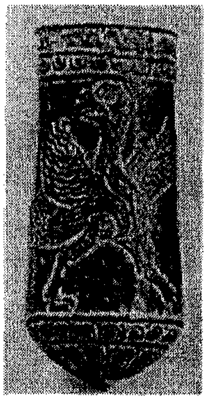

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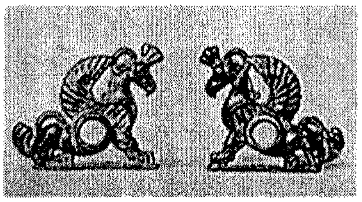

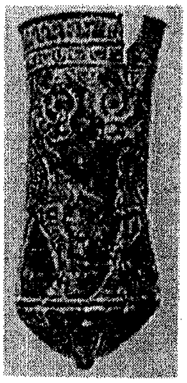

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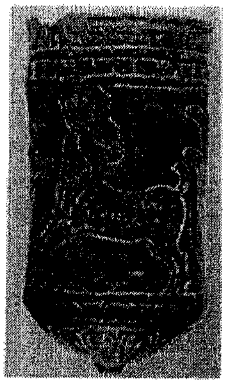

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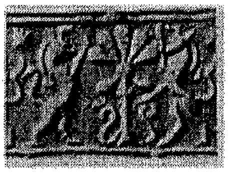
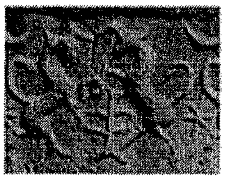
9 - 10





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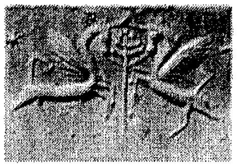

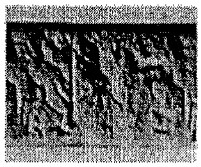

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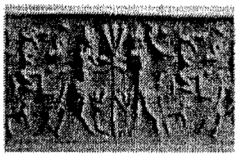

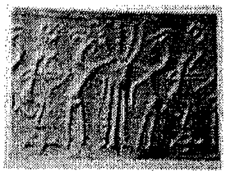

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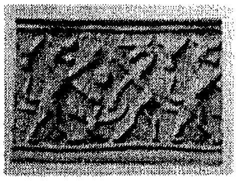

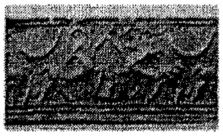

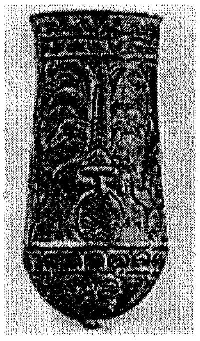

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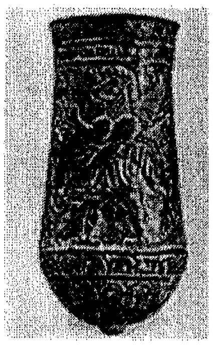
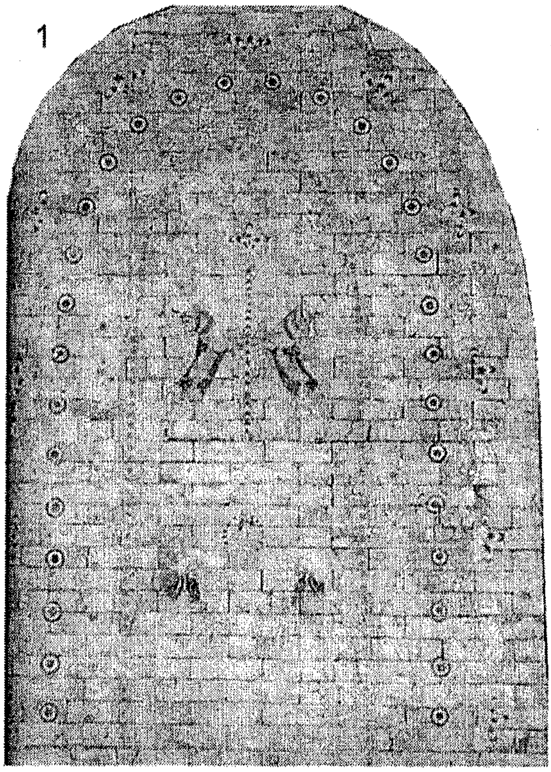


8

First millennium BC material from Luristan

PLATE 27

1



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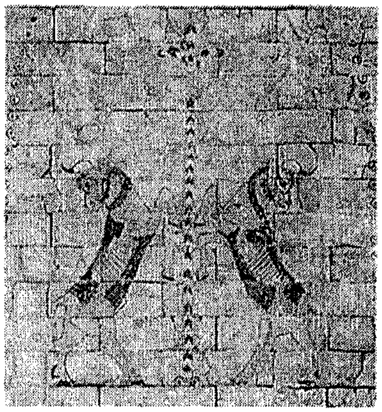

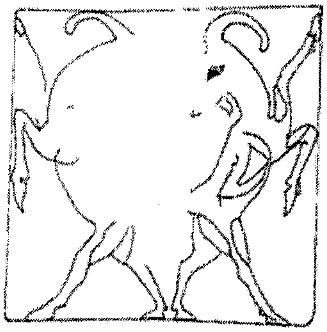

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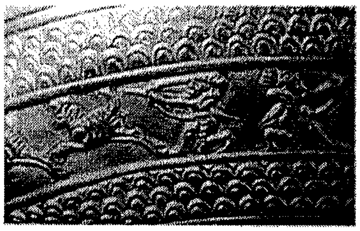

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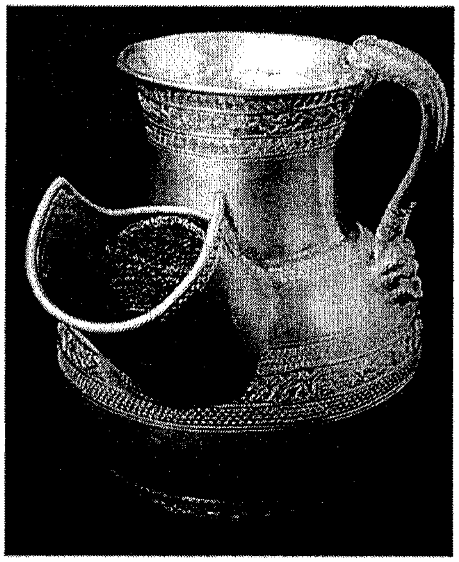
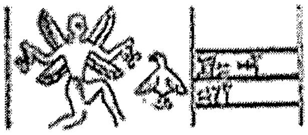
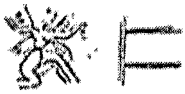


6

Glazed brick pannel and detail from Nimrud (1,2); drawing depicting glazed brick pannel from Bukan (3); Nimrud gold ewer with details (4,5,6)


1 Ac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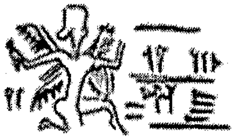
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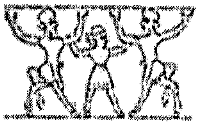
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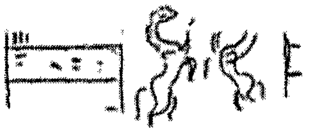
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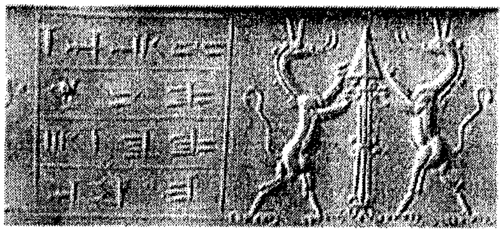
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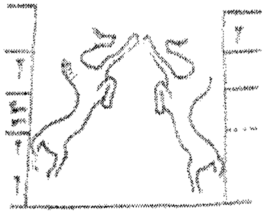
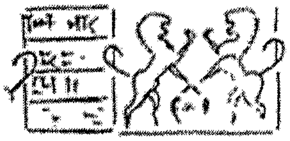

7 P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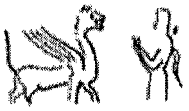
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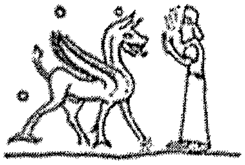
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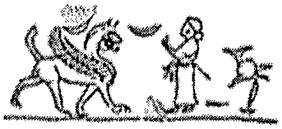
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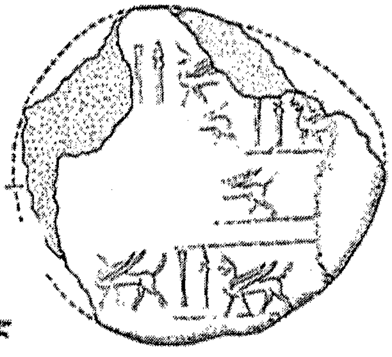
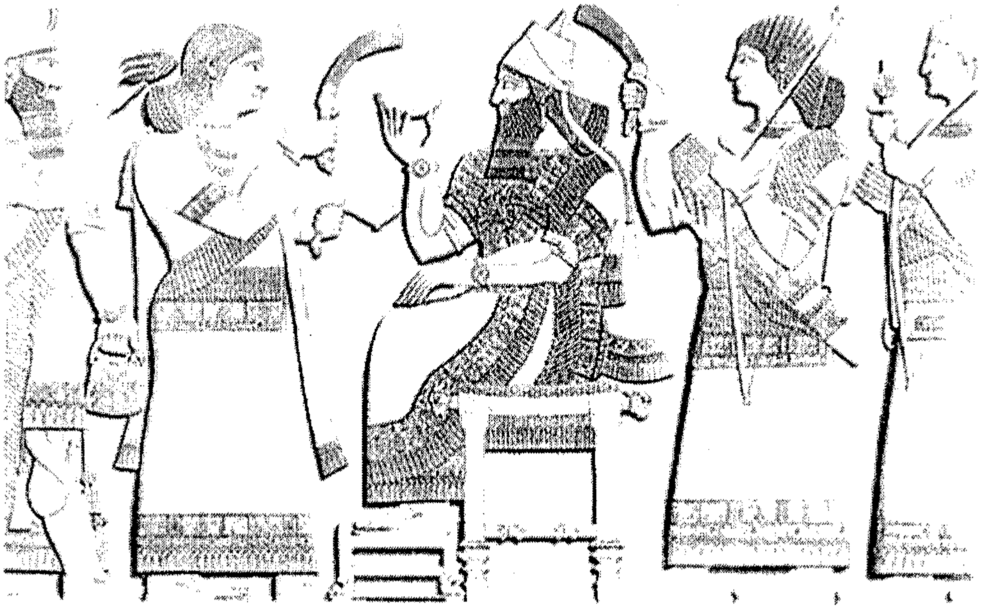
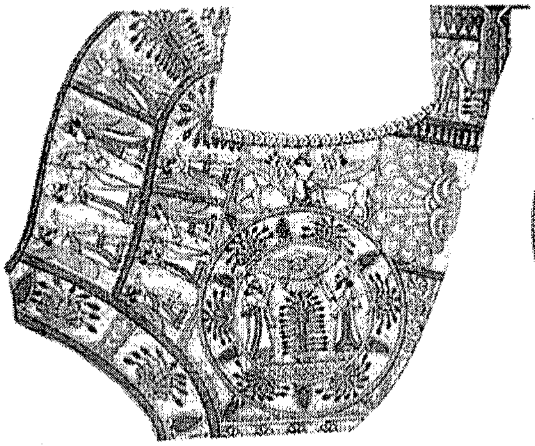

12 V-R

Late Neo-Elamite style seals (AC, Acropole; V-R, Ville-Royale; P, Persepolis)



1



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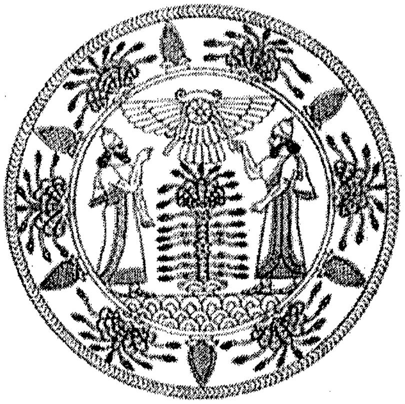
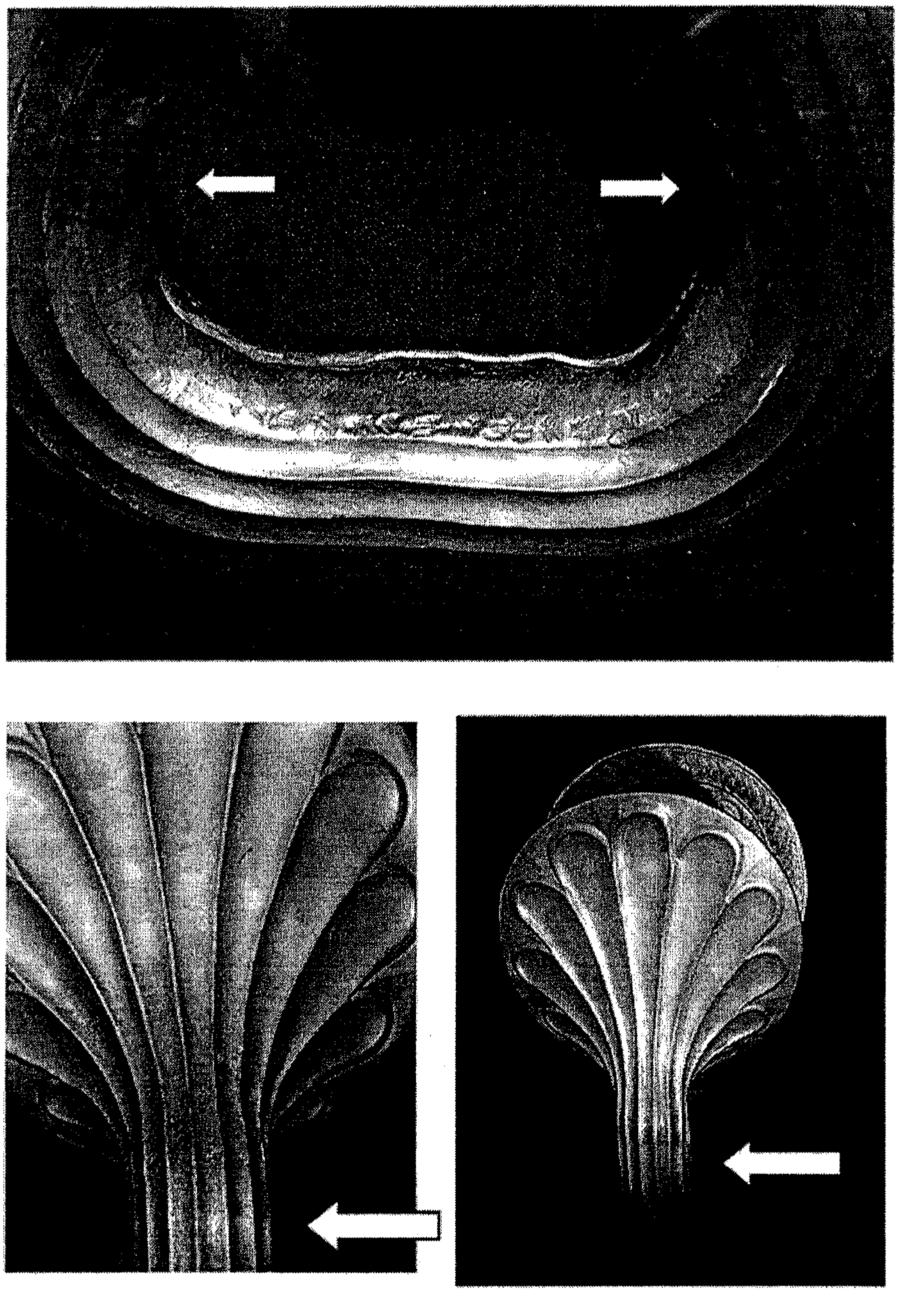


3

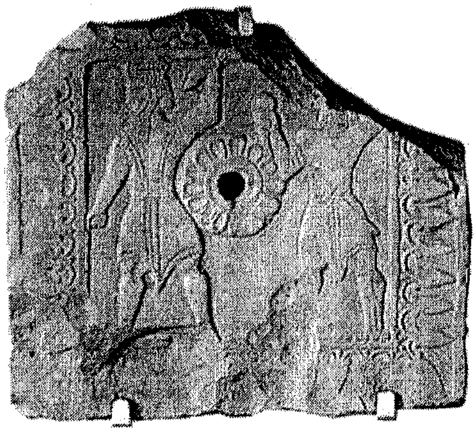
King Assurnasirpal II in ceremonial regalia and details of his pectoral

PLATE 30



Markings on the Arjan ring (indicated by arrows)

PLATE 31



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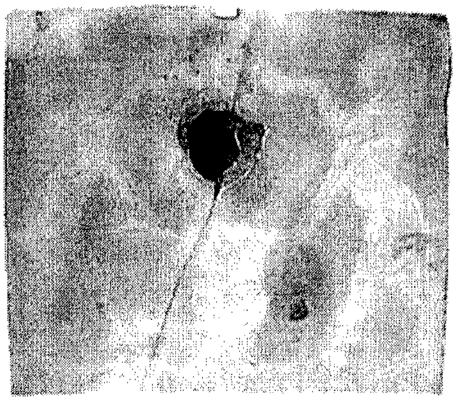

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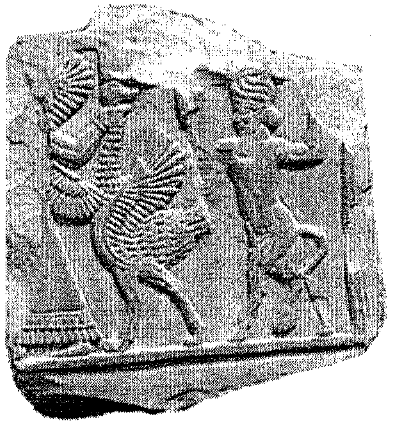
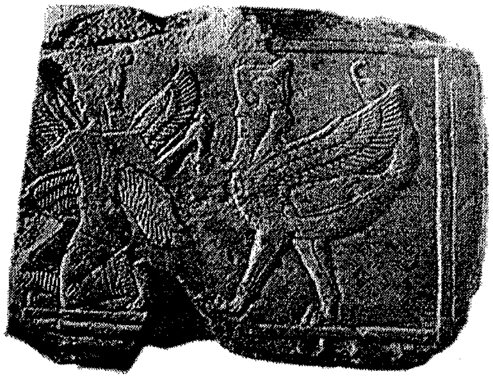
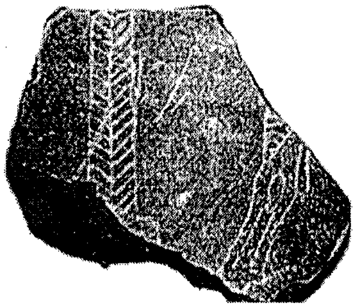
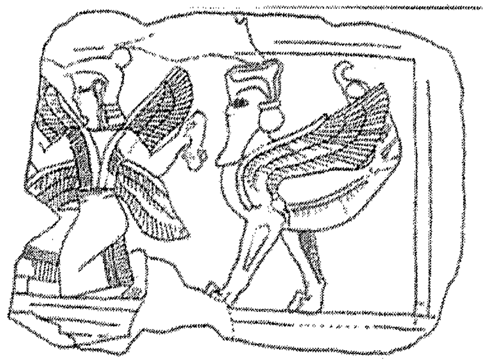




3 - 4

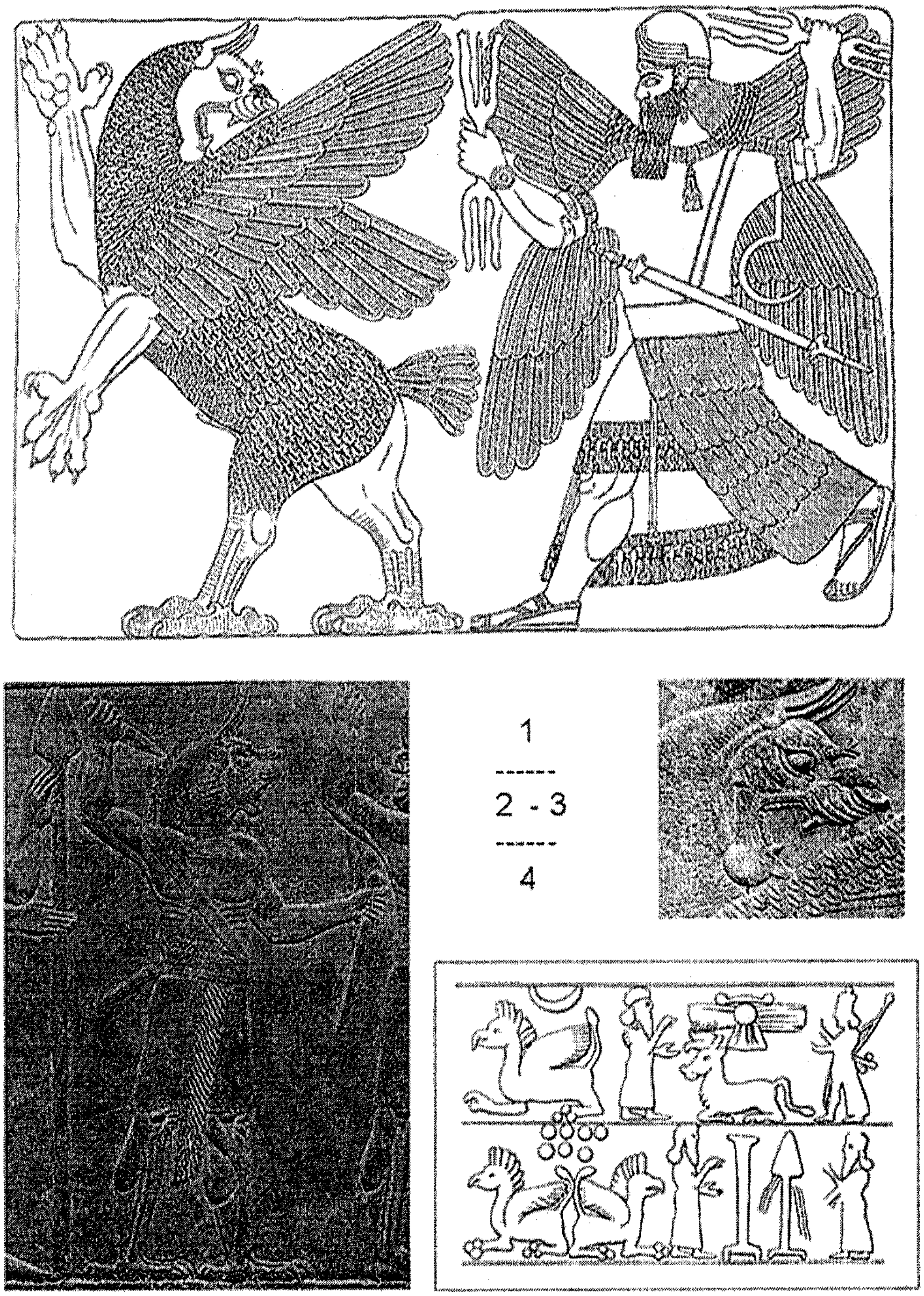
5 - 6





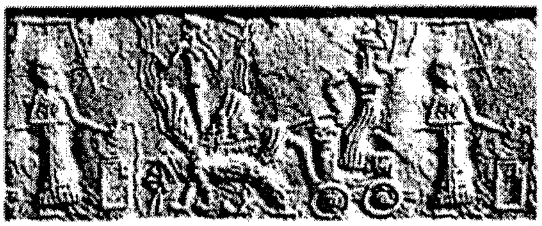
Neo-Elamite limestone and glazed plaques Sb 43 (1), Sb 3354 (2), SAM (3), plaque locus 143 and drawing (4, 6), plaque 47 (5)

PLATE 32

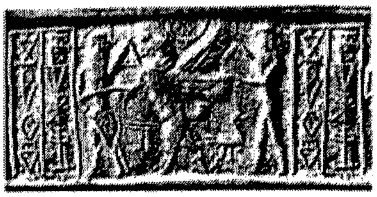


Neo-Assyrian griffin (1,3), lion-headed protective spirit (2),
and bird-headed griffin (4)

PLATE 33



1. Akkadian

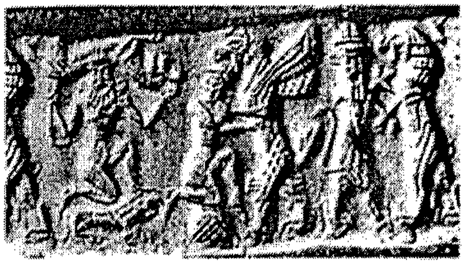


2

3

4

2-3-4. Ur III



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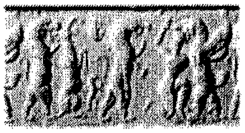

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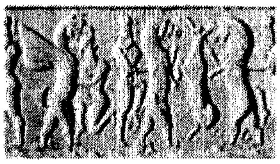
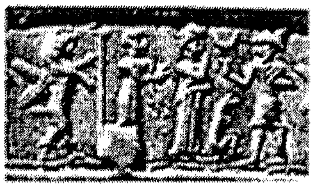
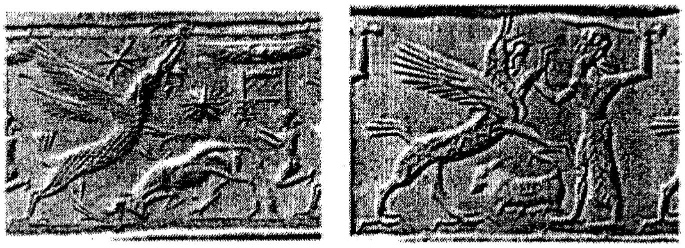


7

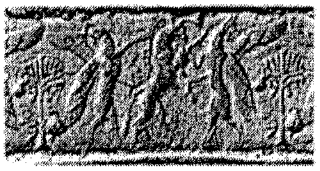
5-6-7. Old Babylonian



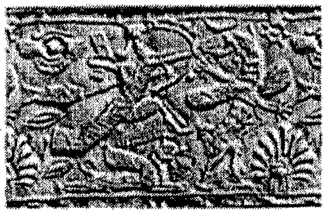
8. Old Babylonian



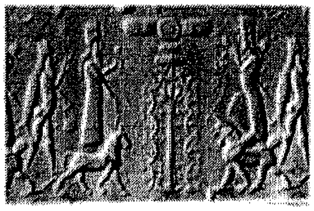
10-11. Middle Assyrian seals 13th, and 12th to 10th Centuries respectively



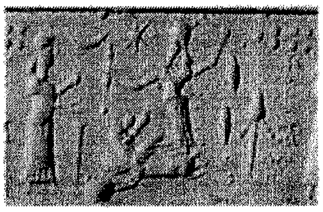
9. Middle Assyrian 14th Century



12. Neo-Assyrian



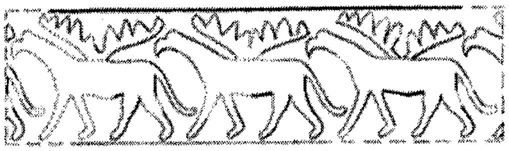
13. Neo-Assyrian, late 9th early 8th Century



14. Neo-Babylonian (?), late 8 th century

Representations of lion-headed griffins in Mesopotamia

PLATE 34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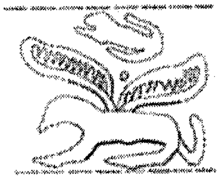
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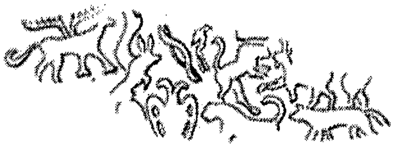
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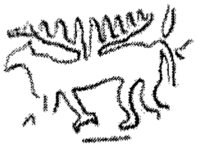
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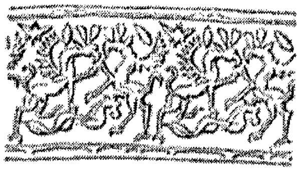
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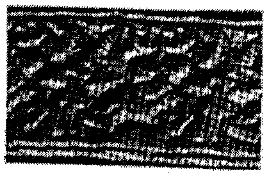
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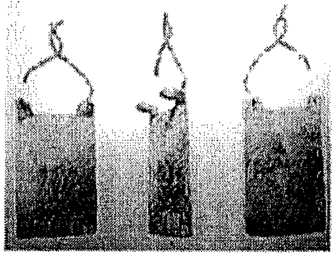
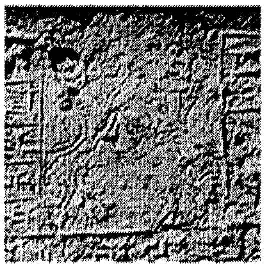
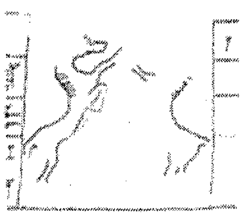
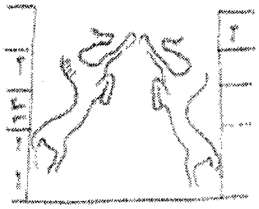


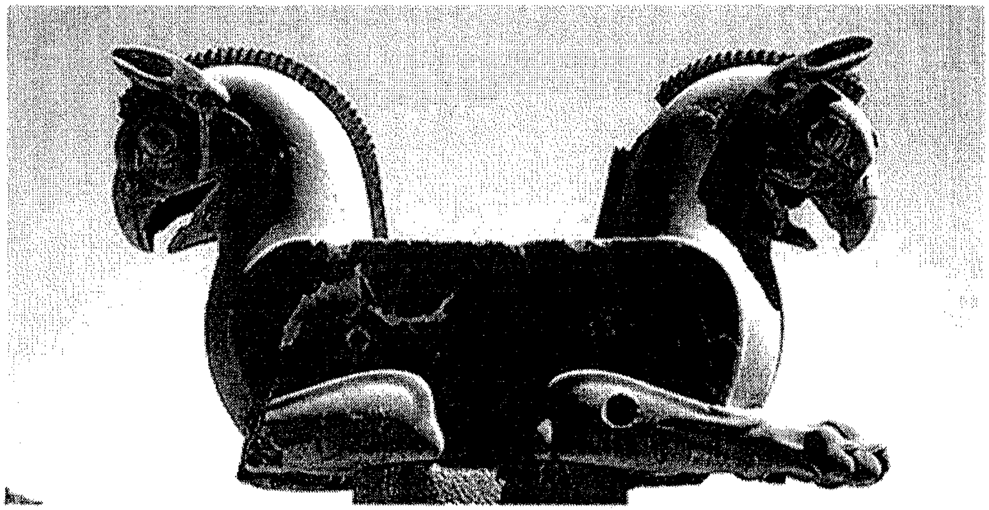






Elamite seal representations of bird-headed griffin from Tchoga-Mish (1-2) and Susa (3-8); Bronze plaque from Persepolis (9,10), and drawings of its engraved seal (11-12)

PLATE 35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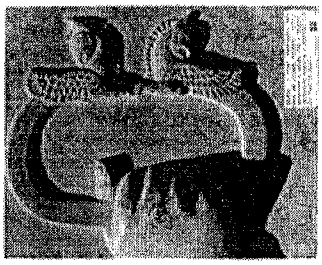
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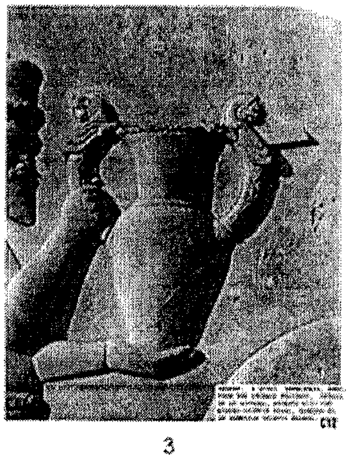

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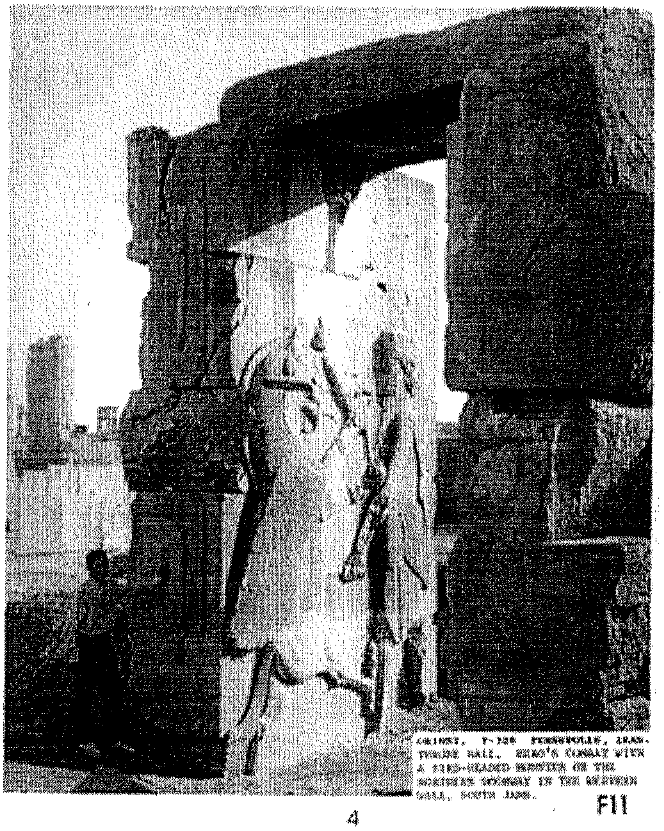

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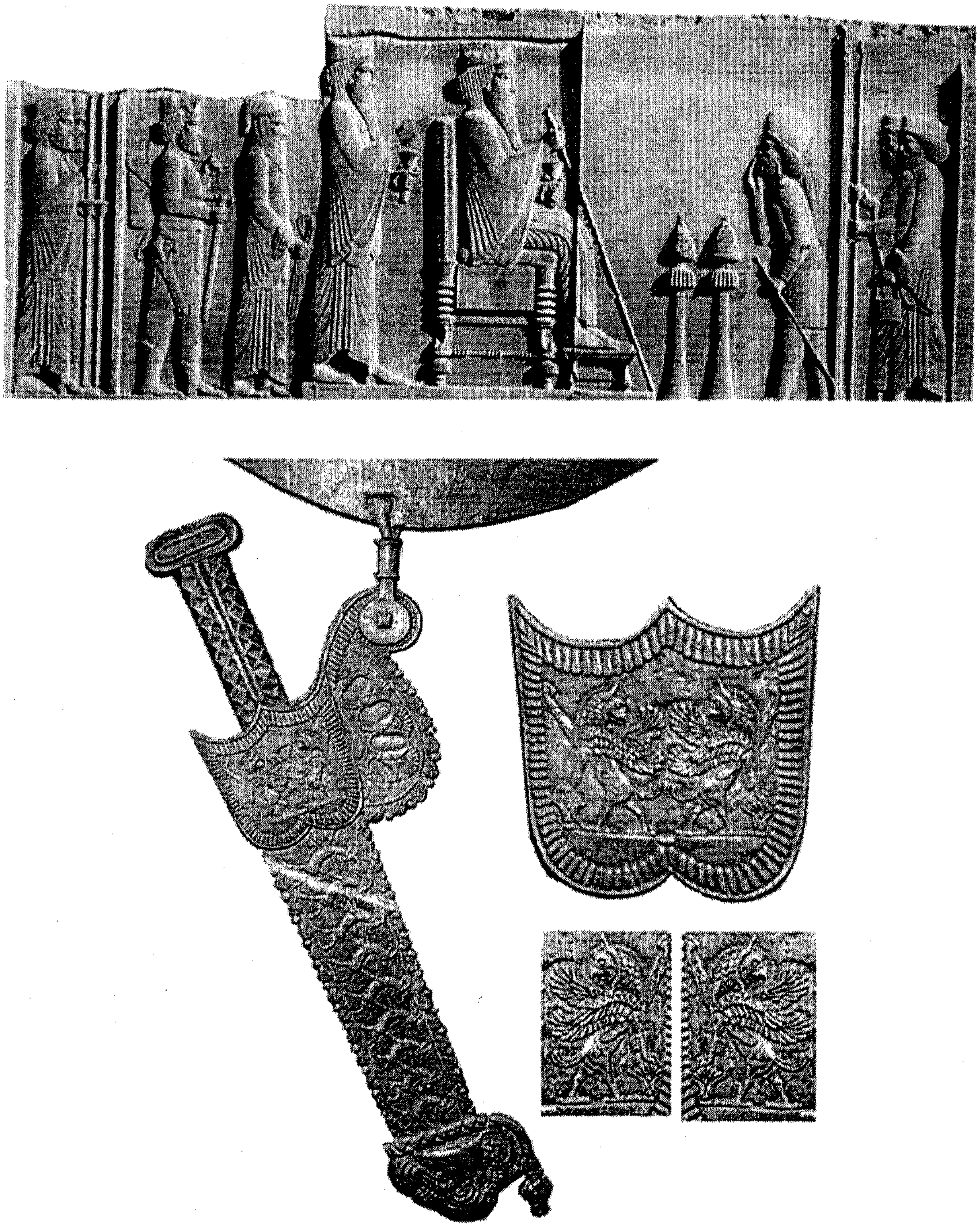
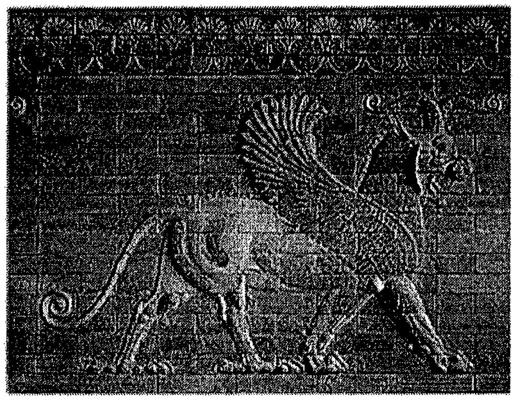
Sculptural representations of the bird-headed griffin from Persepolis

PLATE 36



Bird-headed griffins from the royal sword scabbard of Darius I

PLATE 37



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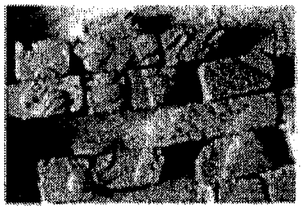

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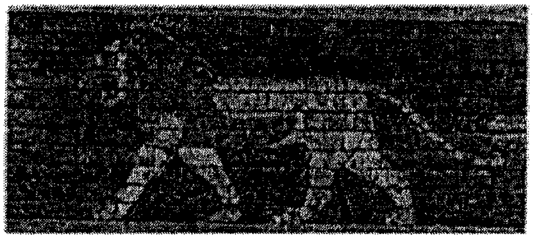

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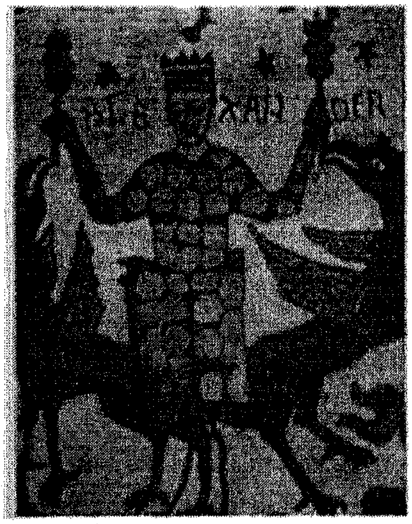

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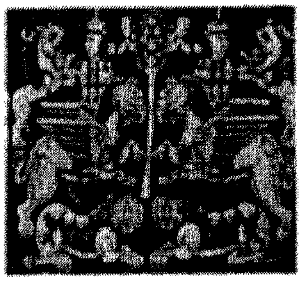

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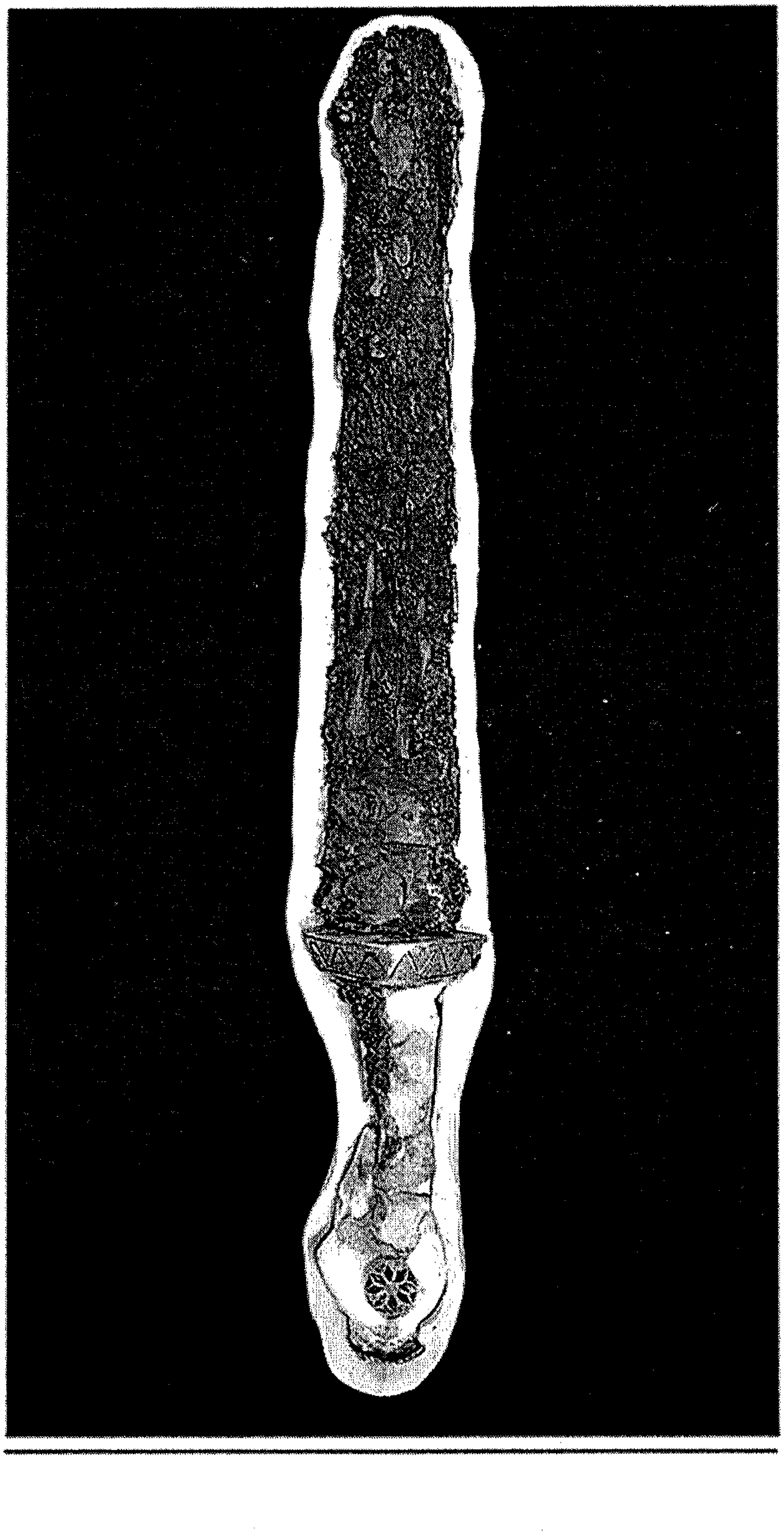
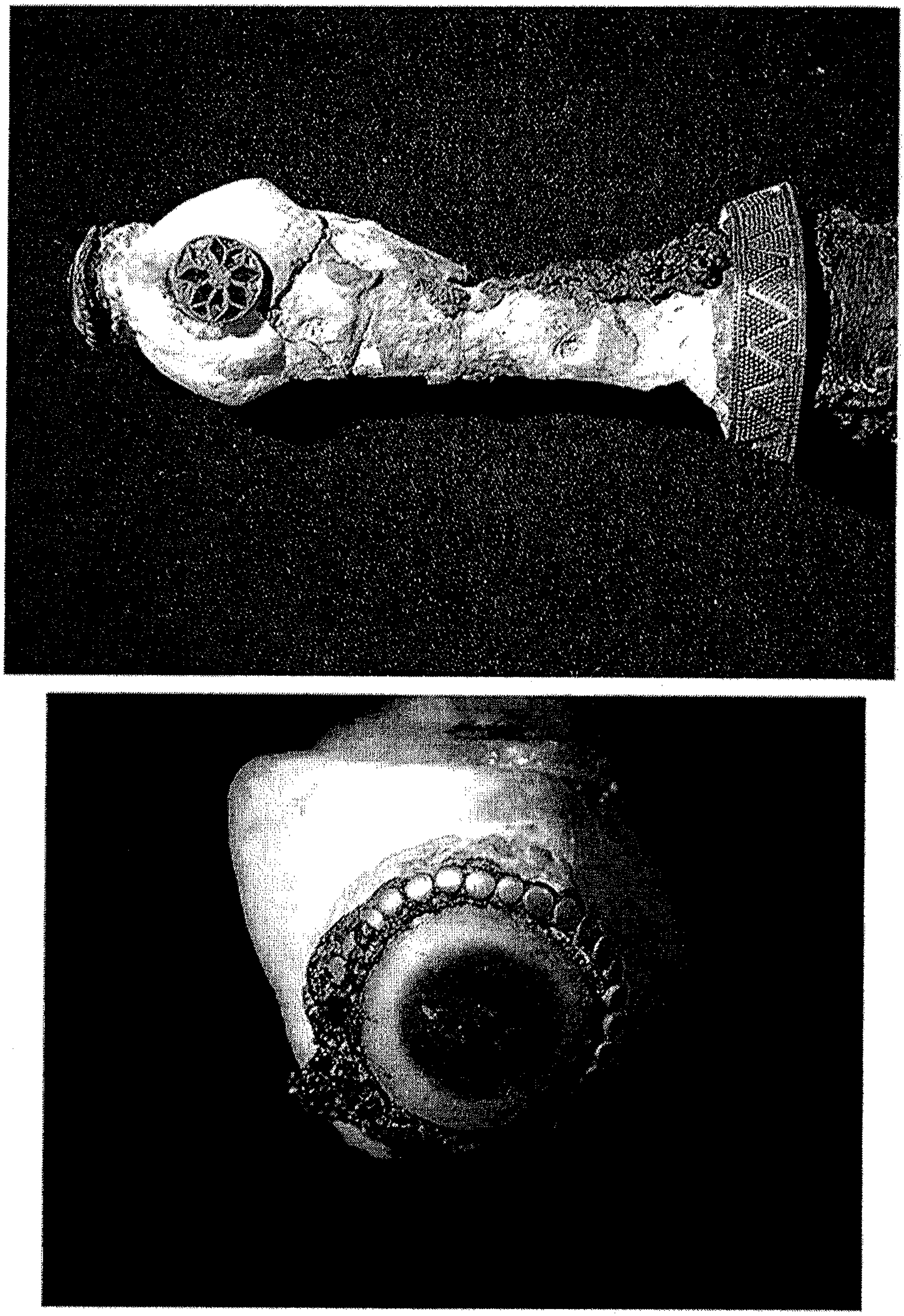
Persian glazed bricks from Susa depicting a lion-griffin (1) and remains of a lion head (2); lion-head and drawing from Arjan (3,4); Roman god in chariot pulled by griffins (6); Sassanian king atop griffin (7); Medieval mosaic representing the flight of Alexander the Great (8)

PLATE 38



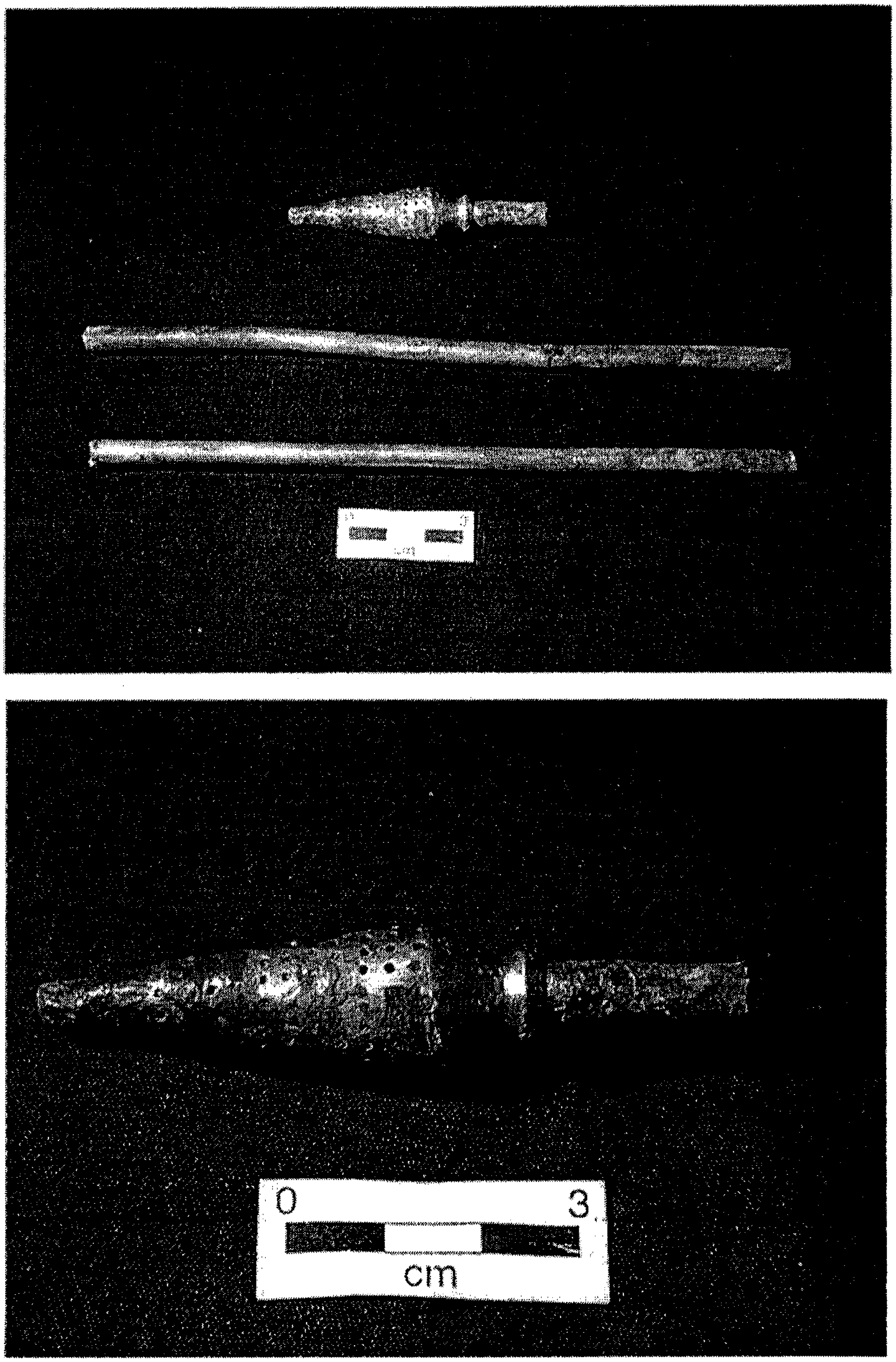
The Arian dagger

PLATE 39



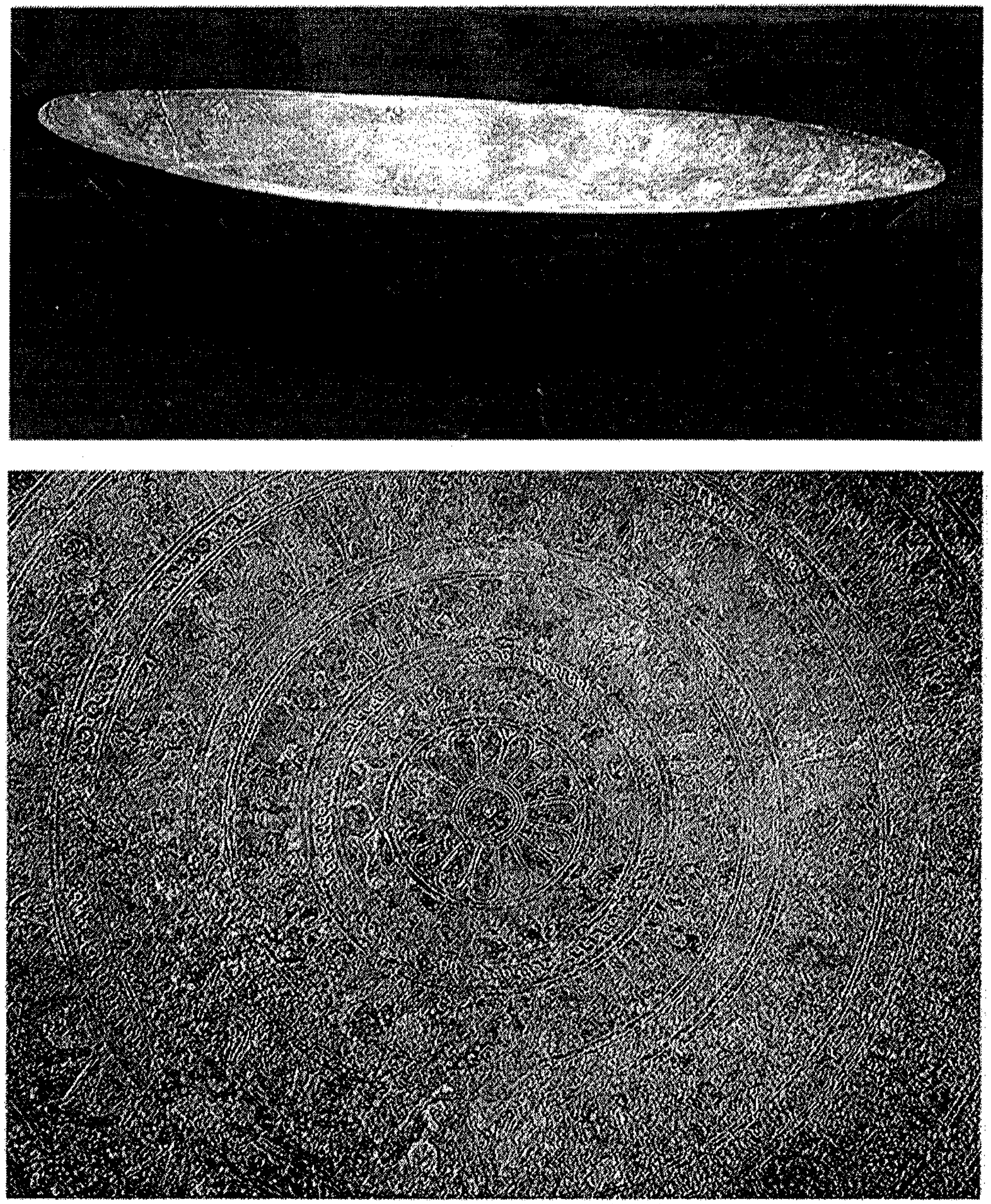
Details of the Arjan dagger

PLATE 40



The Arjan silver tube and detail of the head

PLATE 41



The Arjan bowl with detail of engraved inner registers

PLATE 42

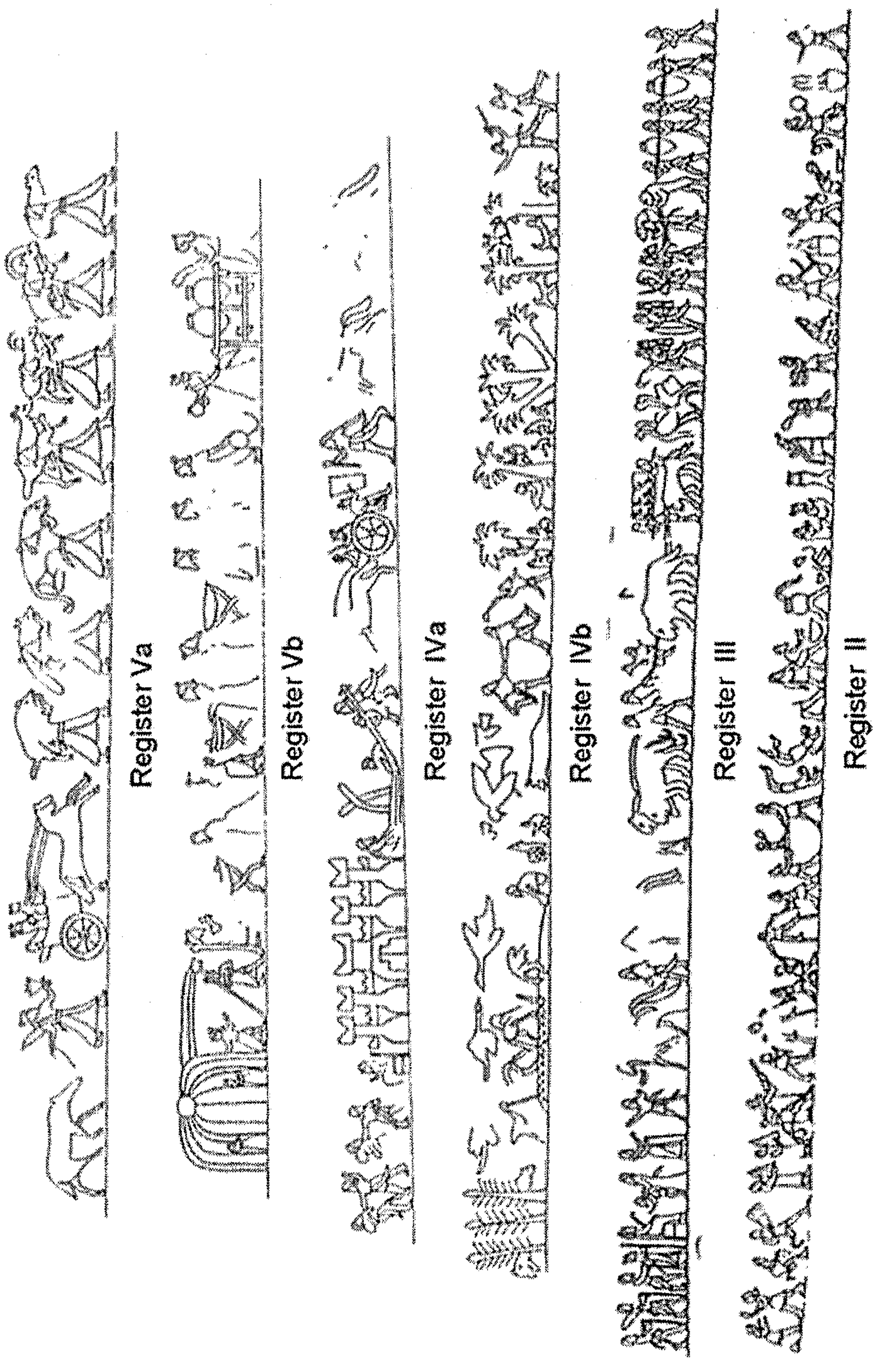
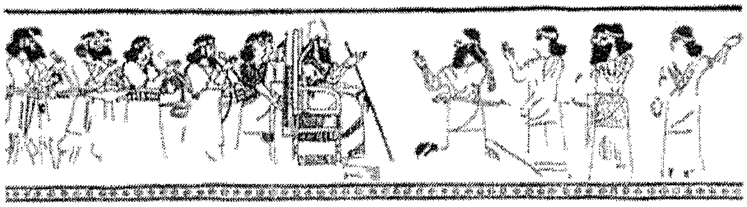
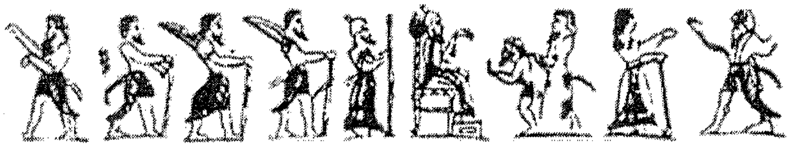

Register Va
Register Vb
Register IVa
Register IVb
Register III
Register II

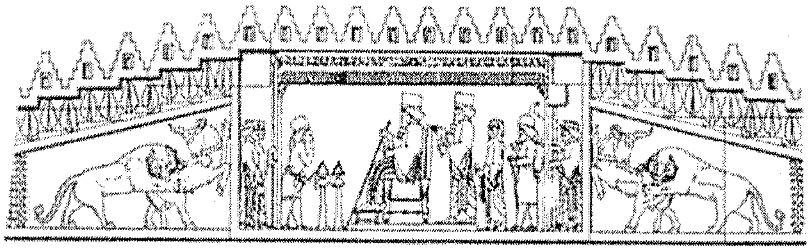
PLATE 43



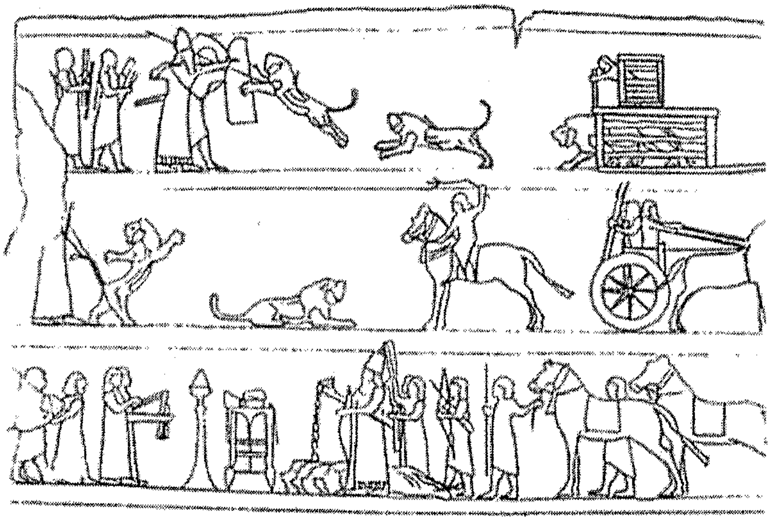
Tribute Scene from the Palace of Til Barsip (After A. Parrot, Assur, fig. 113)



Tribute Scene from the Arjan Bowl (After R. Vatandust)

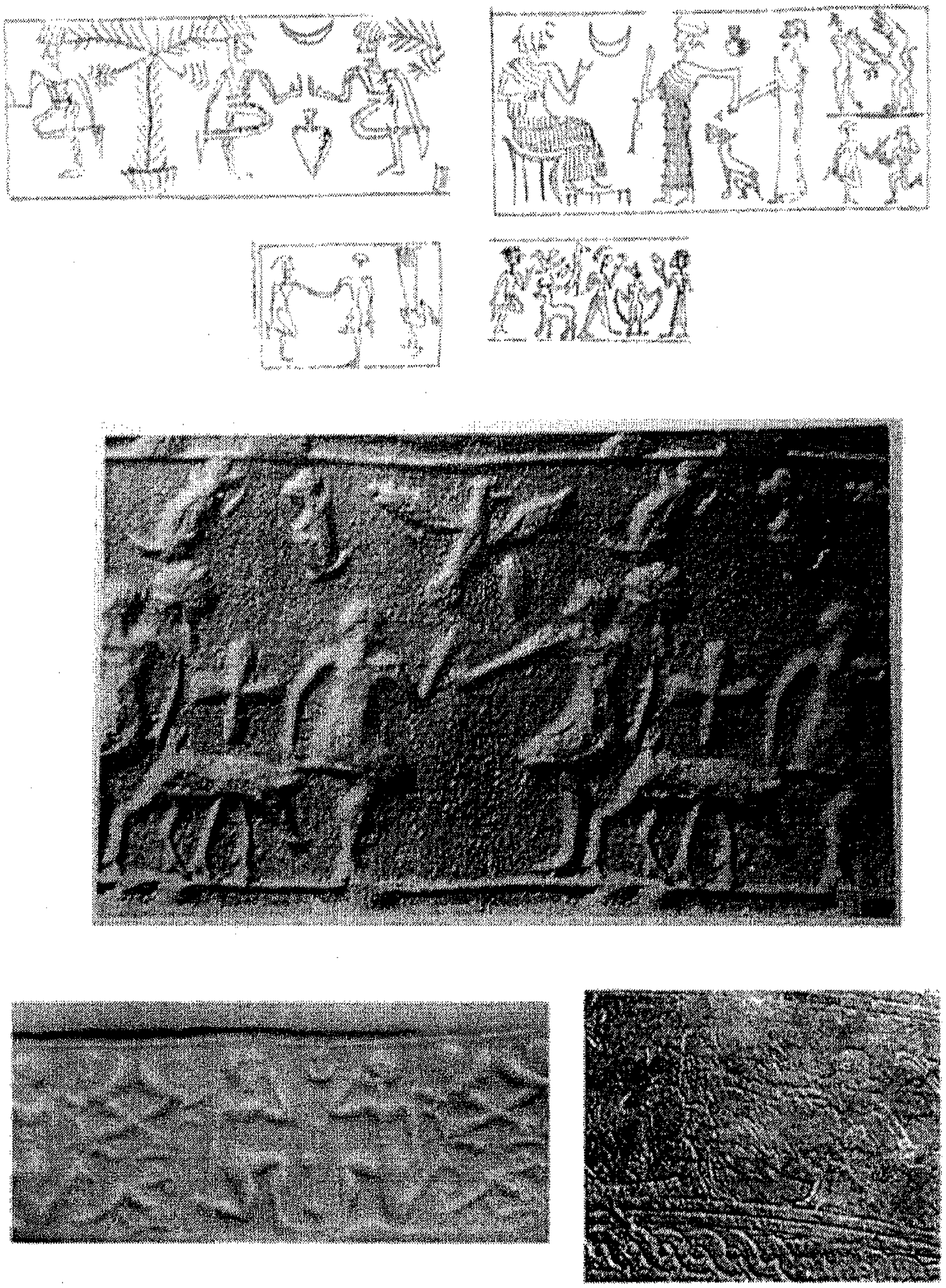


Tribute Scene from Persepolis (After Tilia 1972 fig. 3)

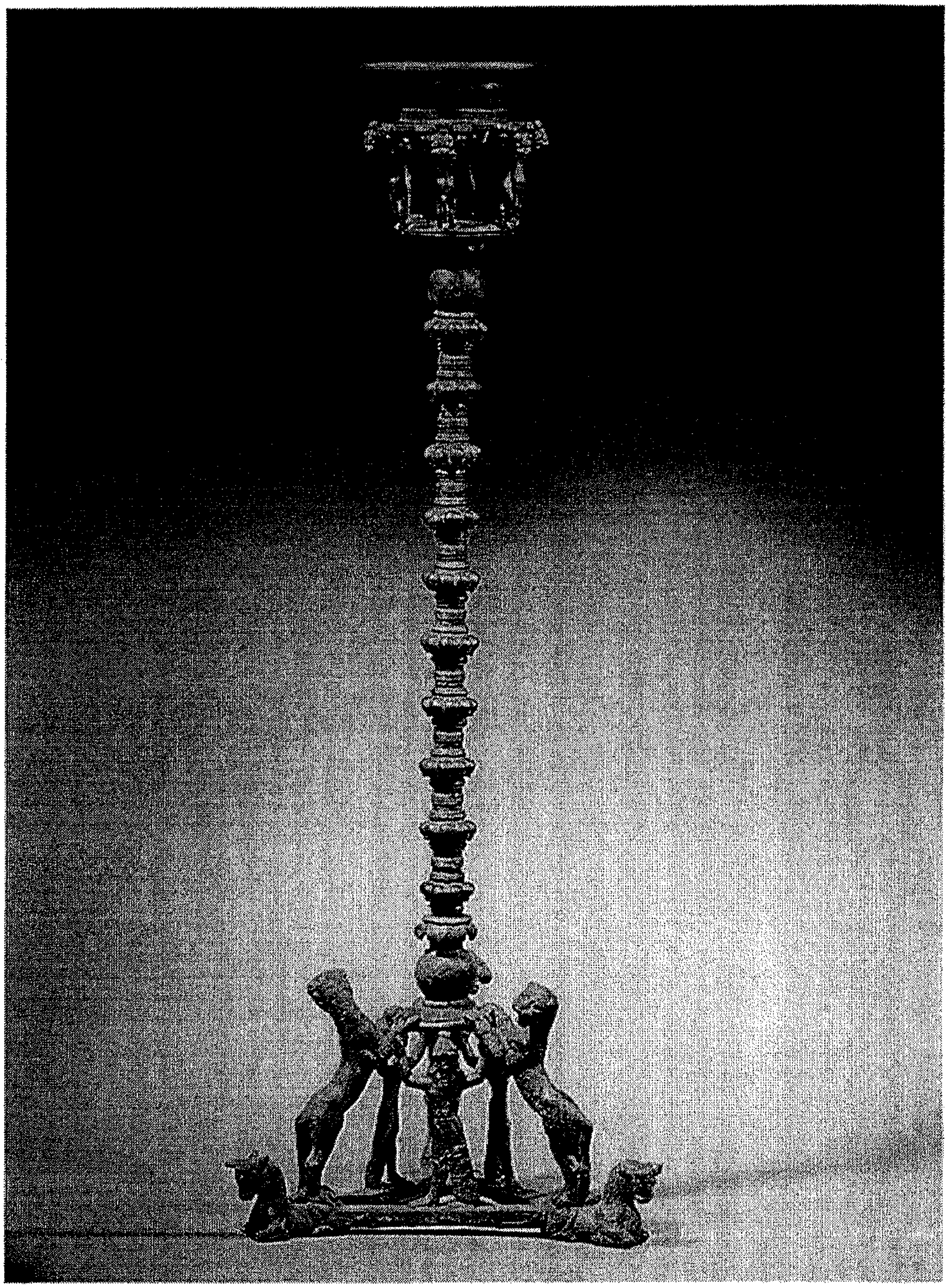


Tribute scenes from Til Barsip (1) , the Arjan bowl (2) , and Persepolis (3); Assurbanipal's lion hunting relief (4)

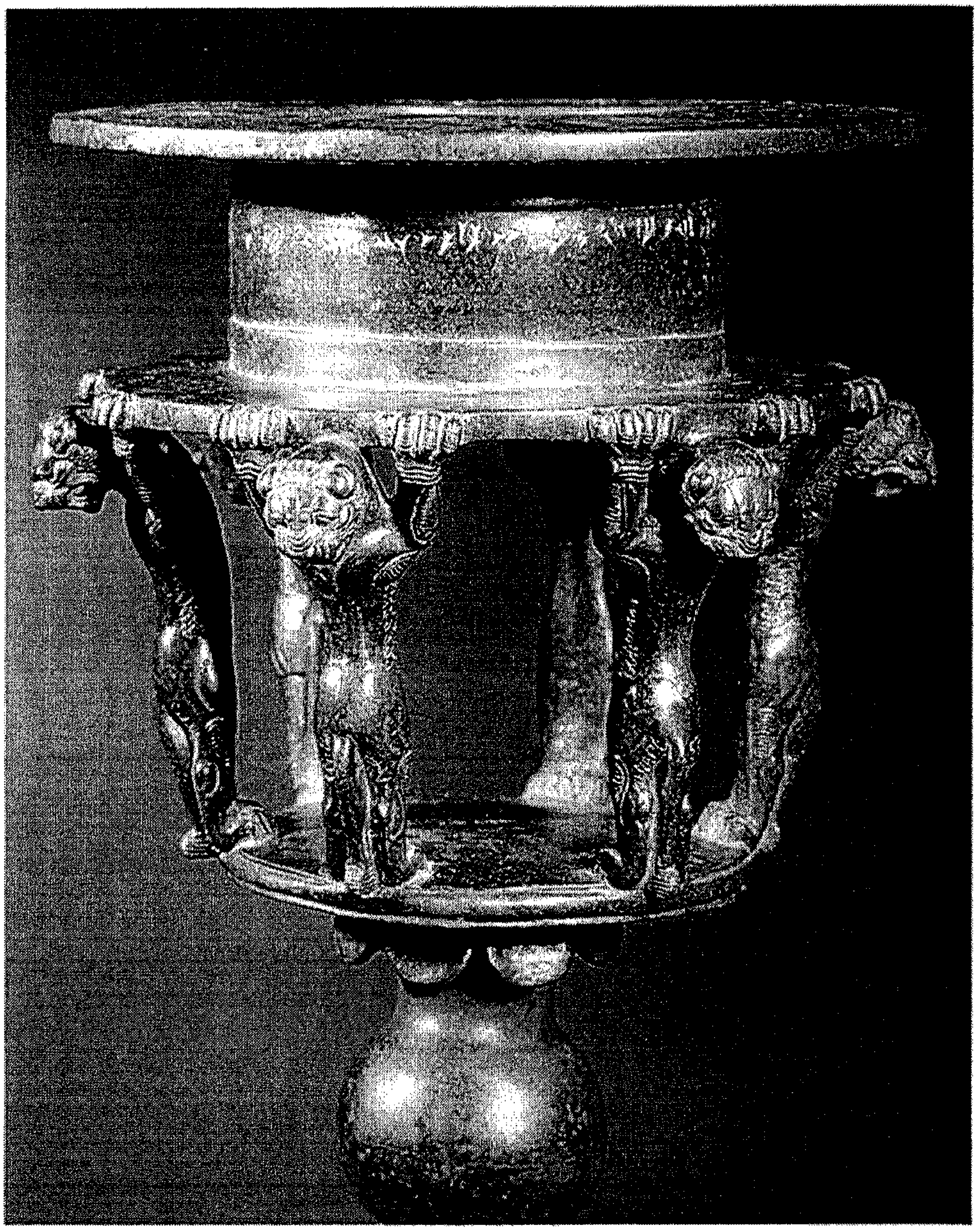
PLATE 44



Representations of the hopping-on-one-leg game on seals and in the Arjan bowl

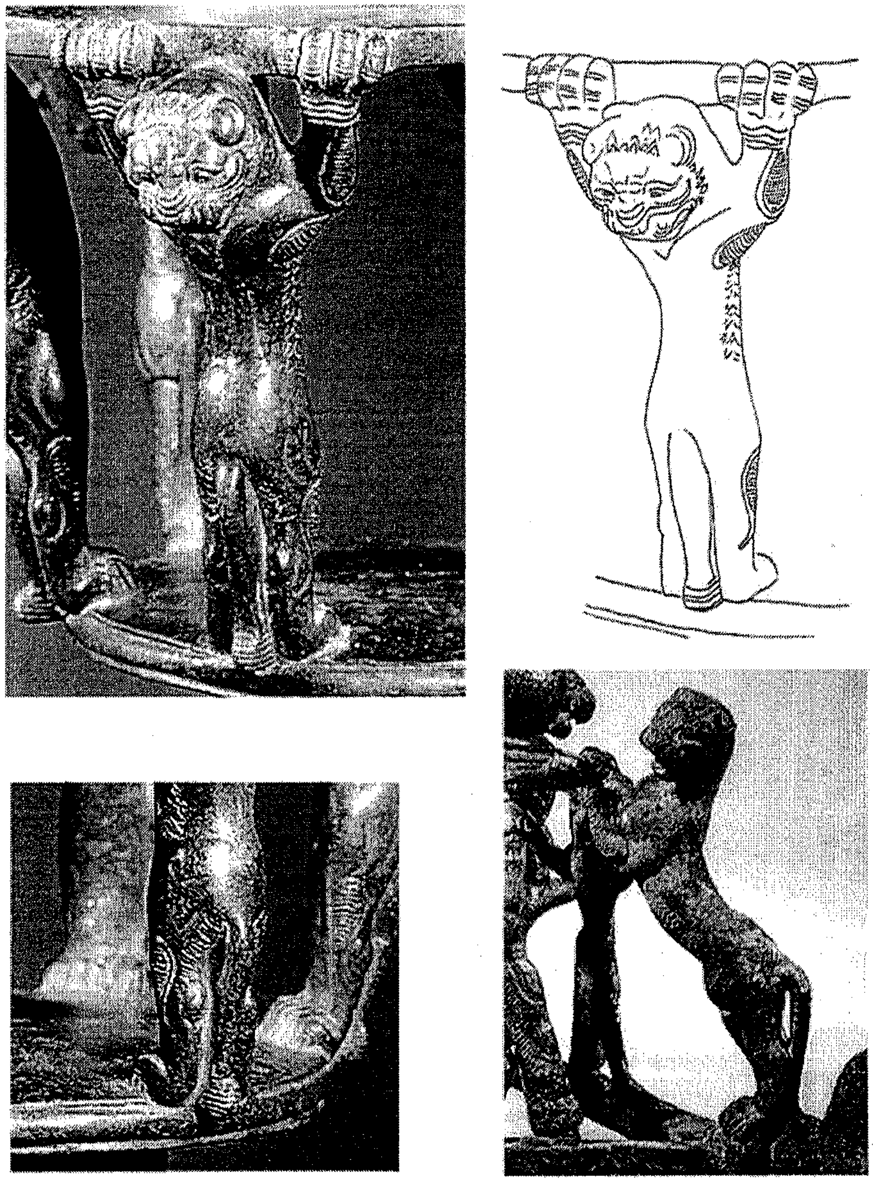


The Arjan Candelabrum



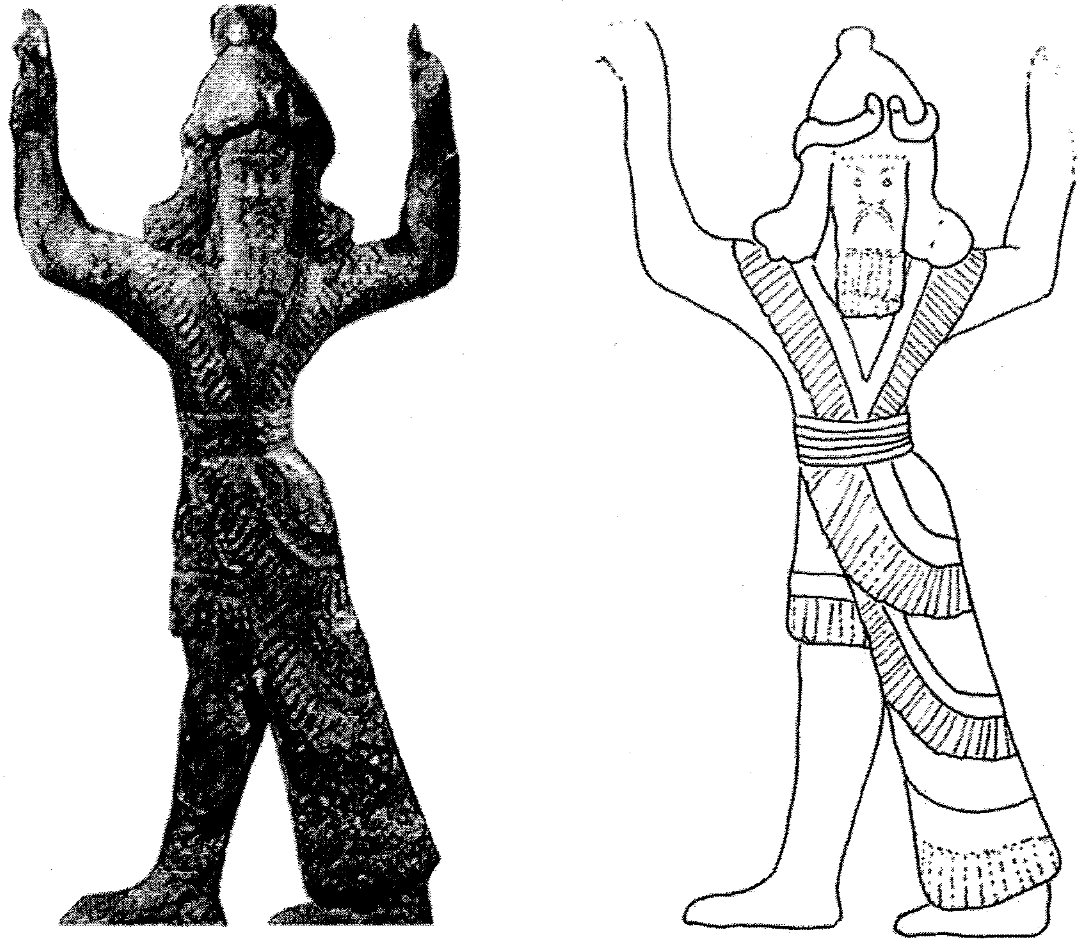
Upper section of the candelabrum

PLATE 47



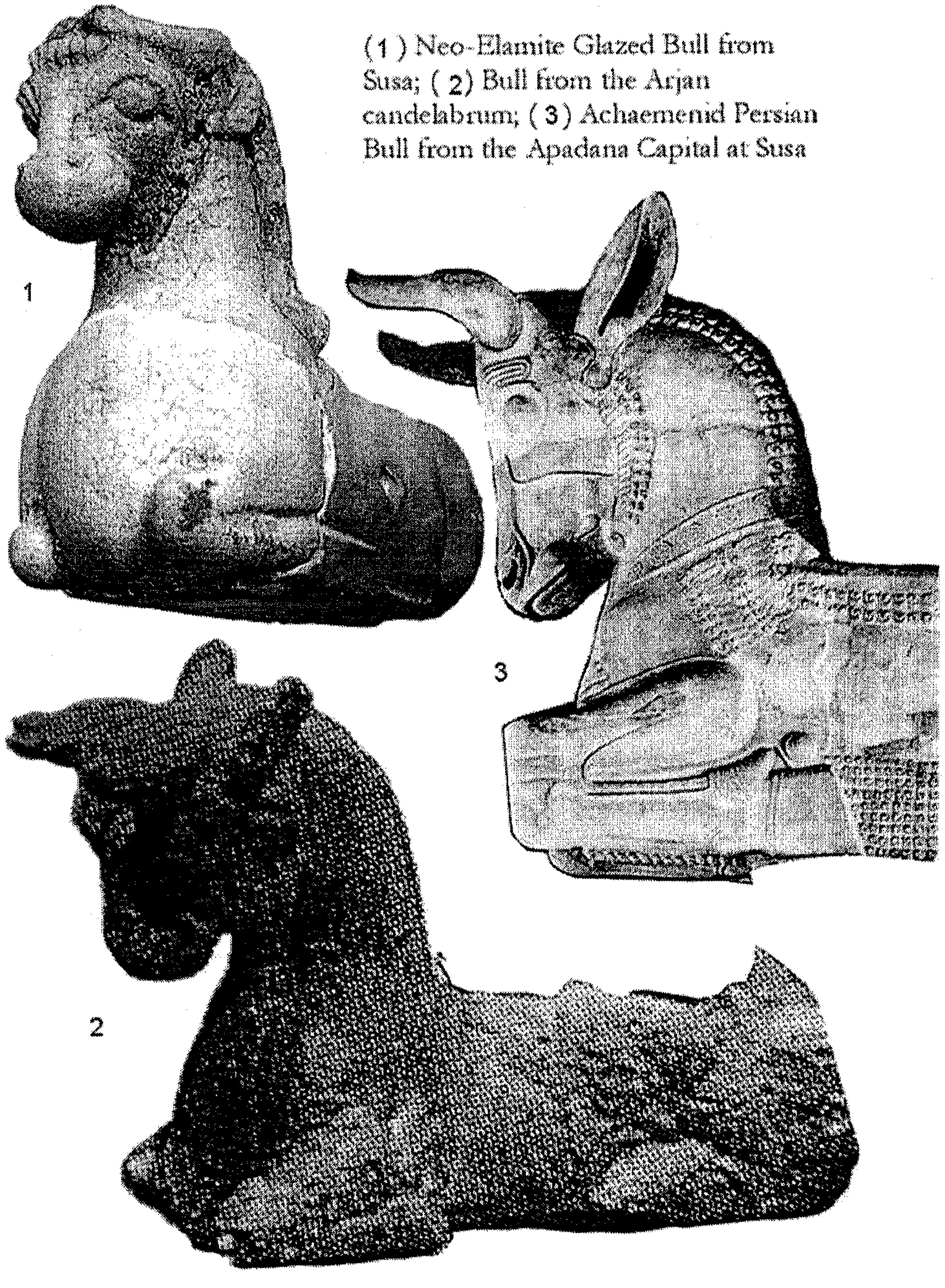
The lions from the candelabrum: stylistic details

PLATE 48



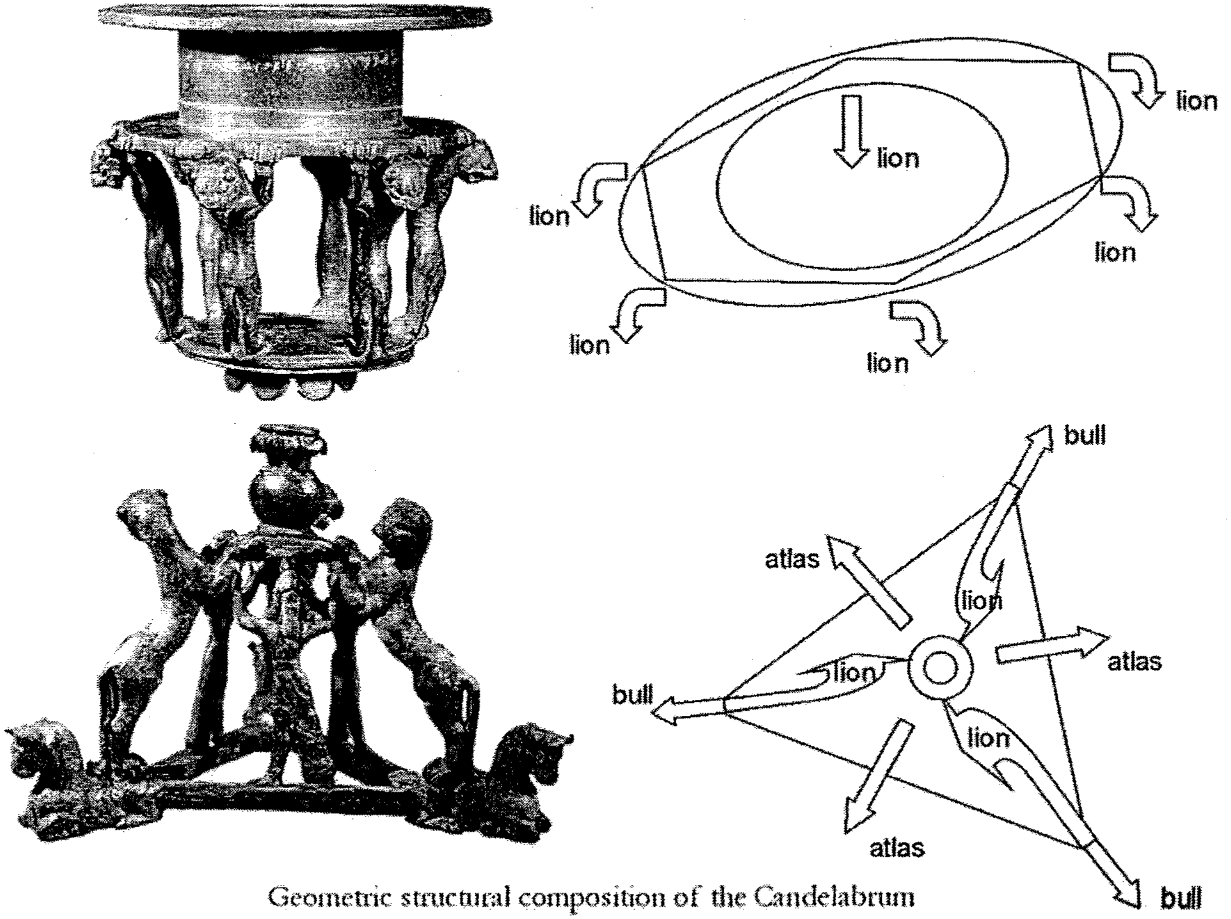
The Atlas figure from the lower section fo the Arjan candelabrum

PLATE 49

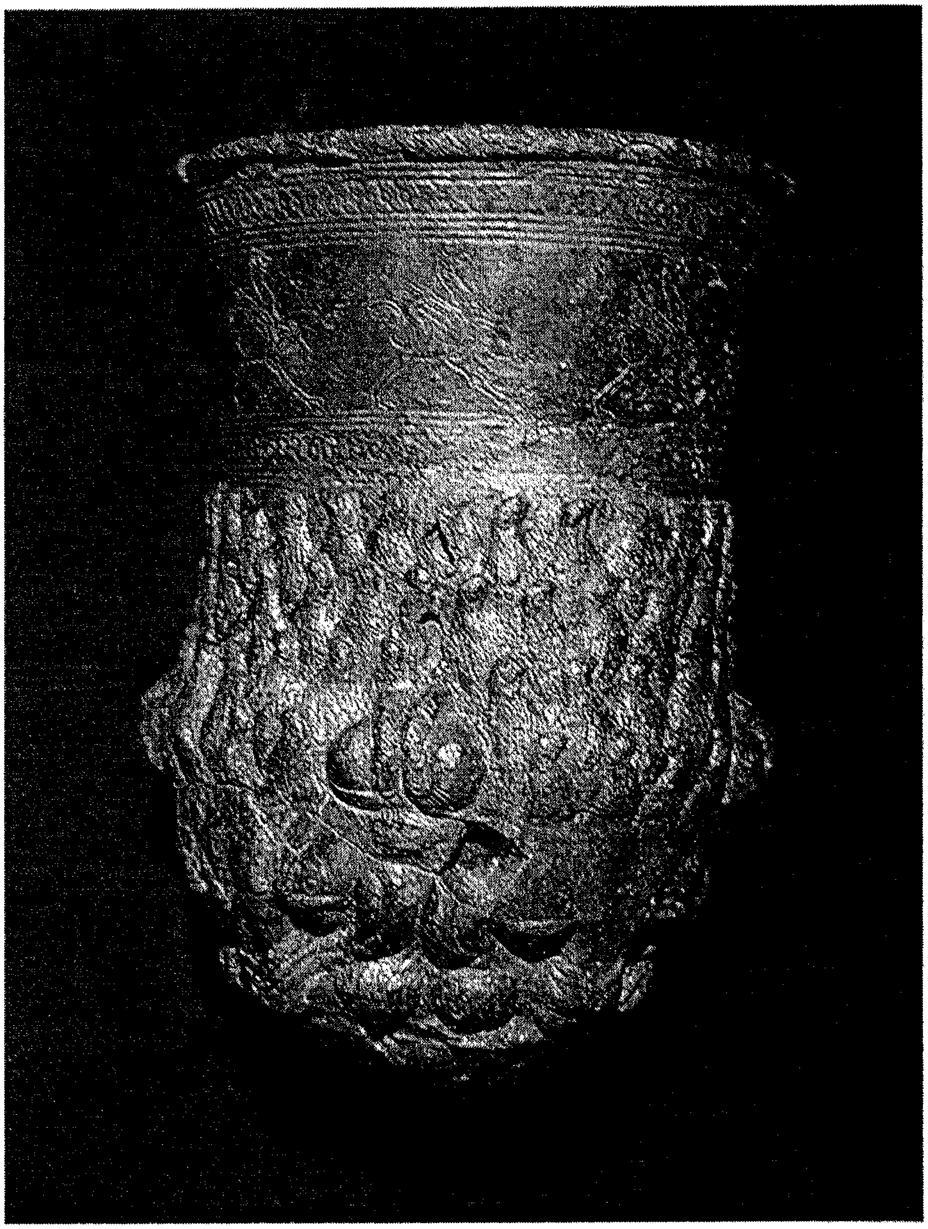


(1) Neo-Elamite Glazed Bull from Susa; (2) Bull from the Arjan candelabrum; (3) Achaemenid Persian Bull from the Apadana Capital at Susa

PLATE 50

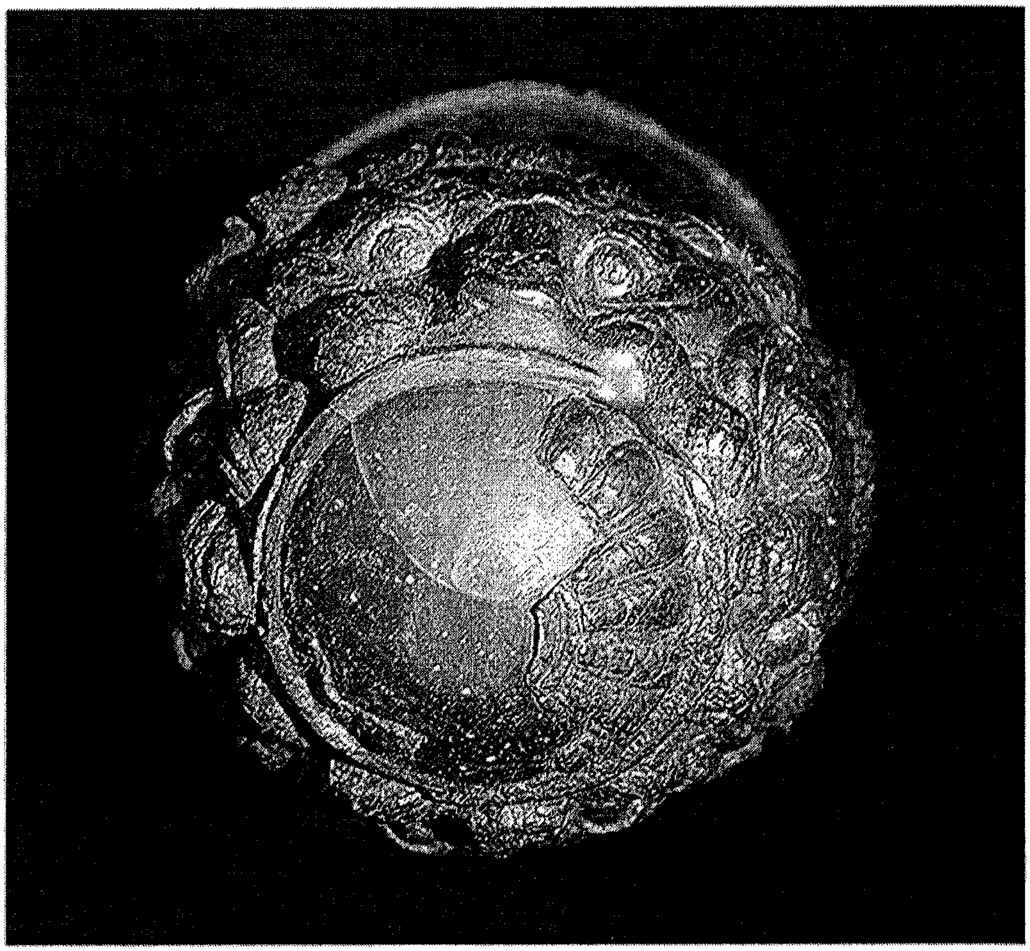


Geometric structural composition of the Candelabrum



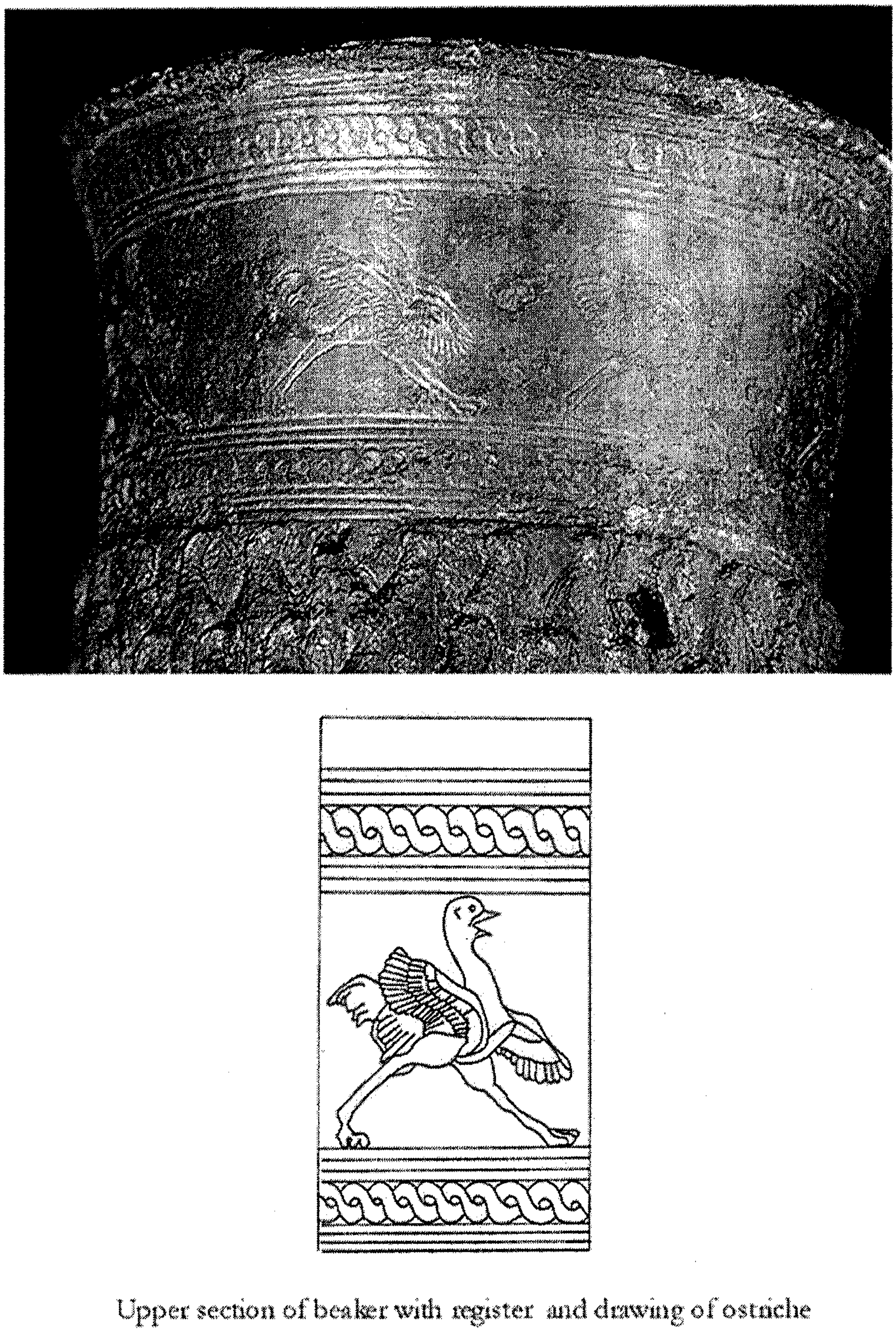
The Arjan beaker

PLATE 52



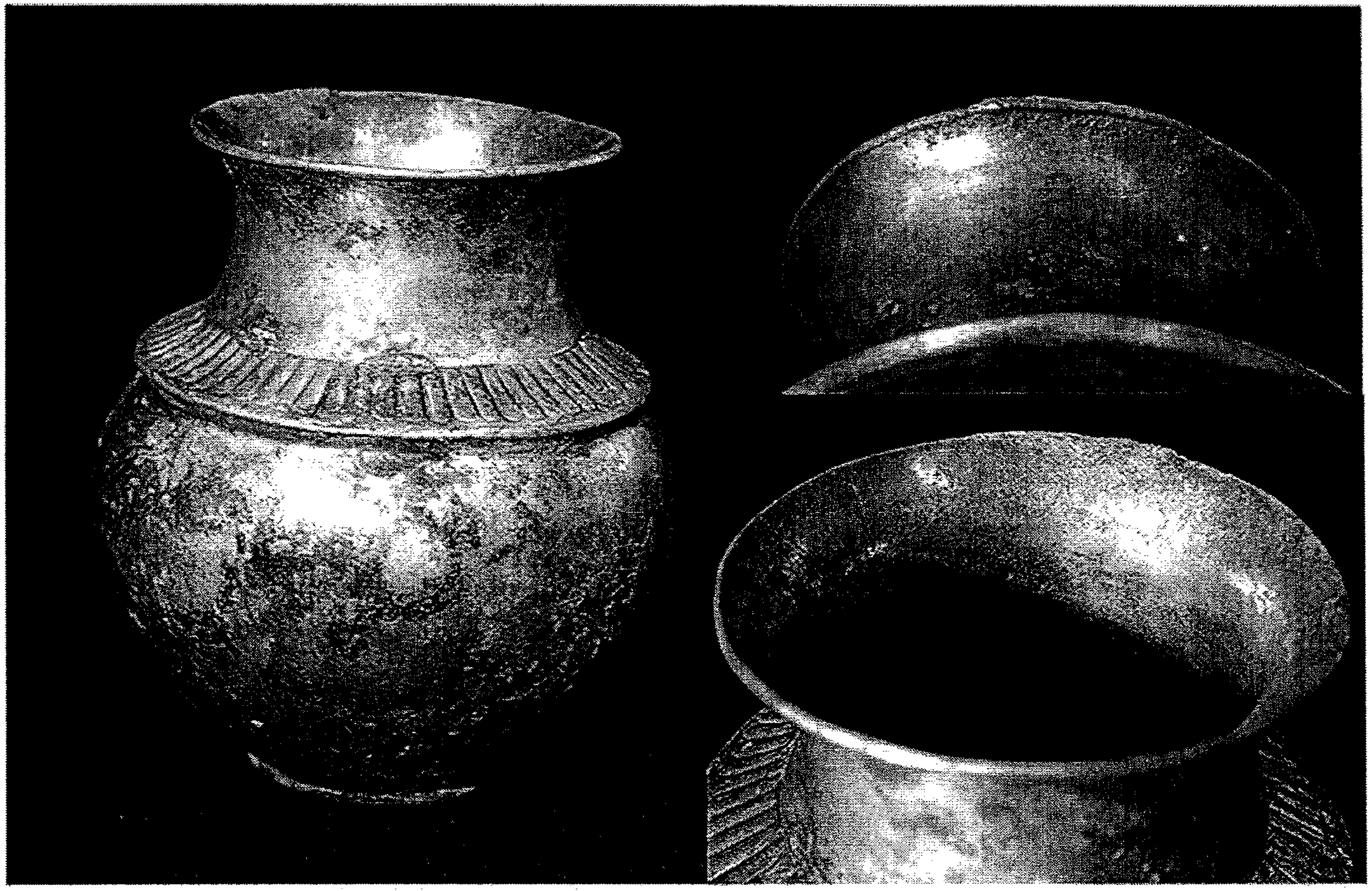
Base of the Beaker with
Central Rosette and Four Lion Heads

PLATE 53

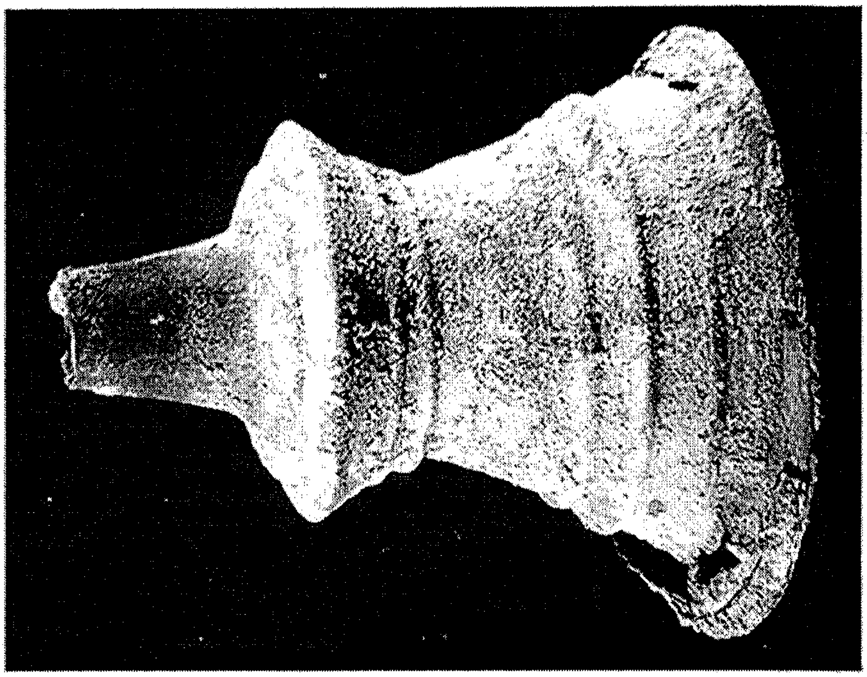


Upper section of beaker with register and drawing of ostriche

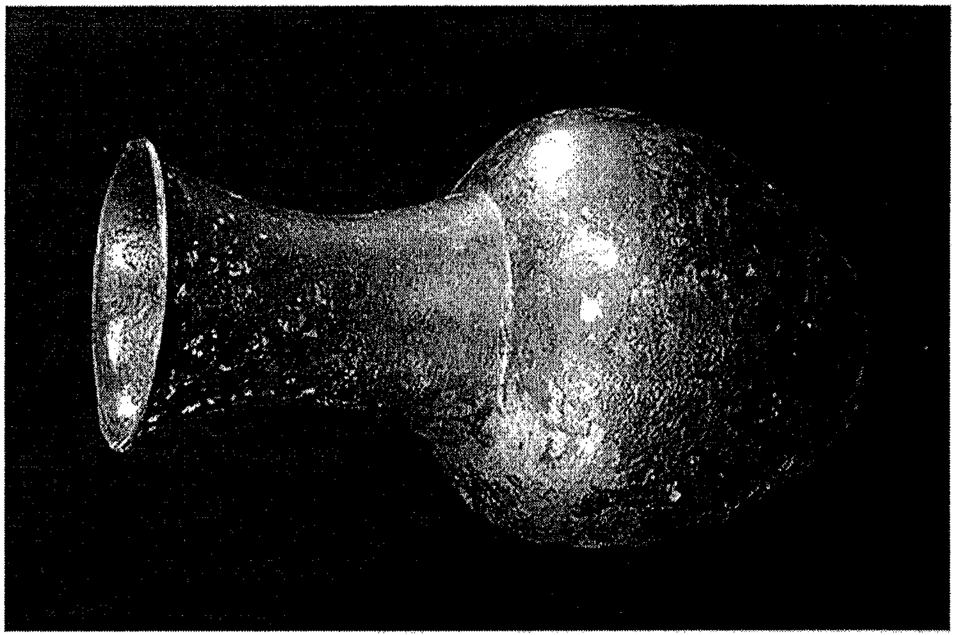
PLATE 54



The Arjan silver jar with Detail of the inscription outside the lip, and
inner part corresponding to the inscription

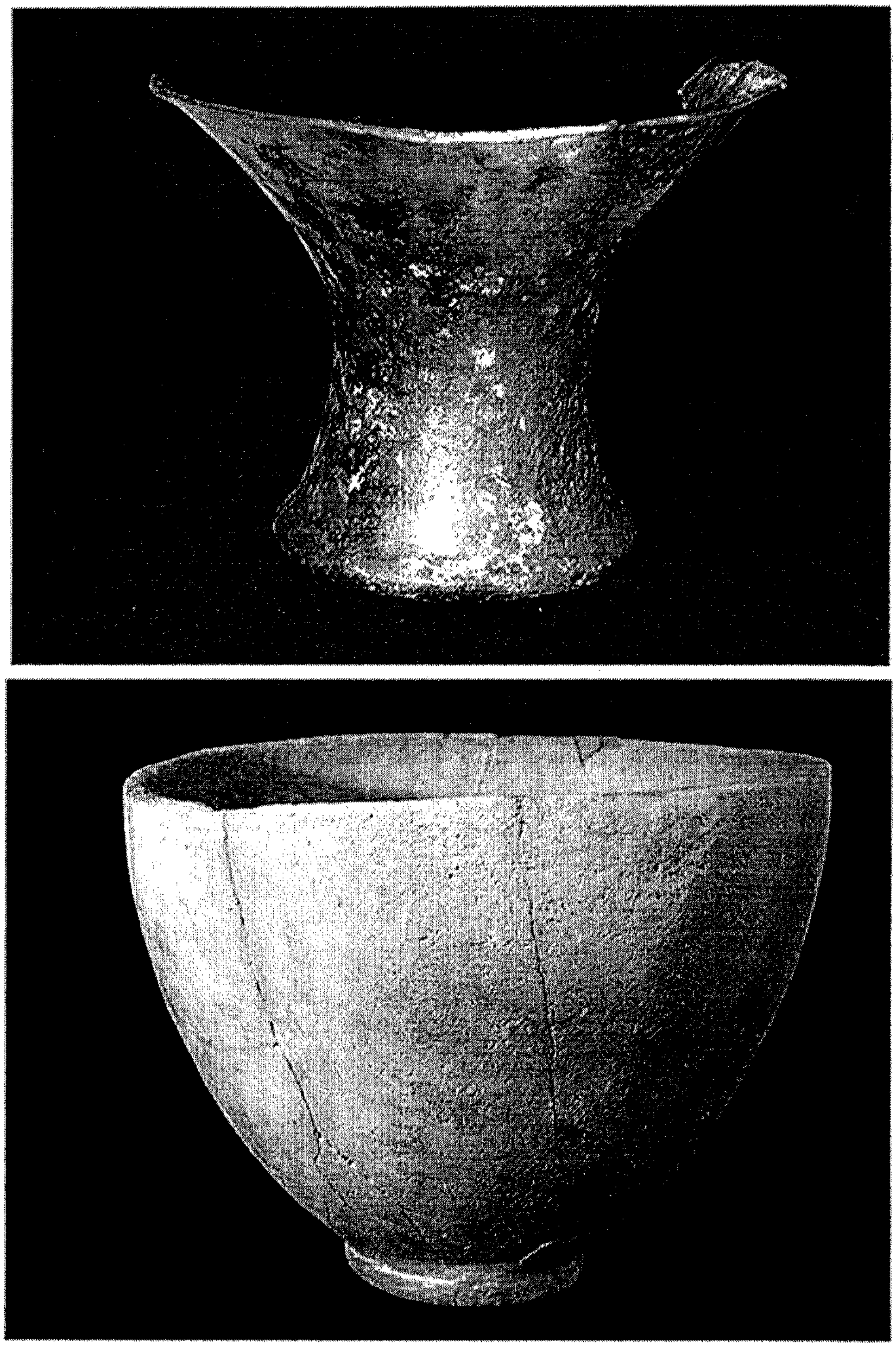


Bronze lamp



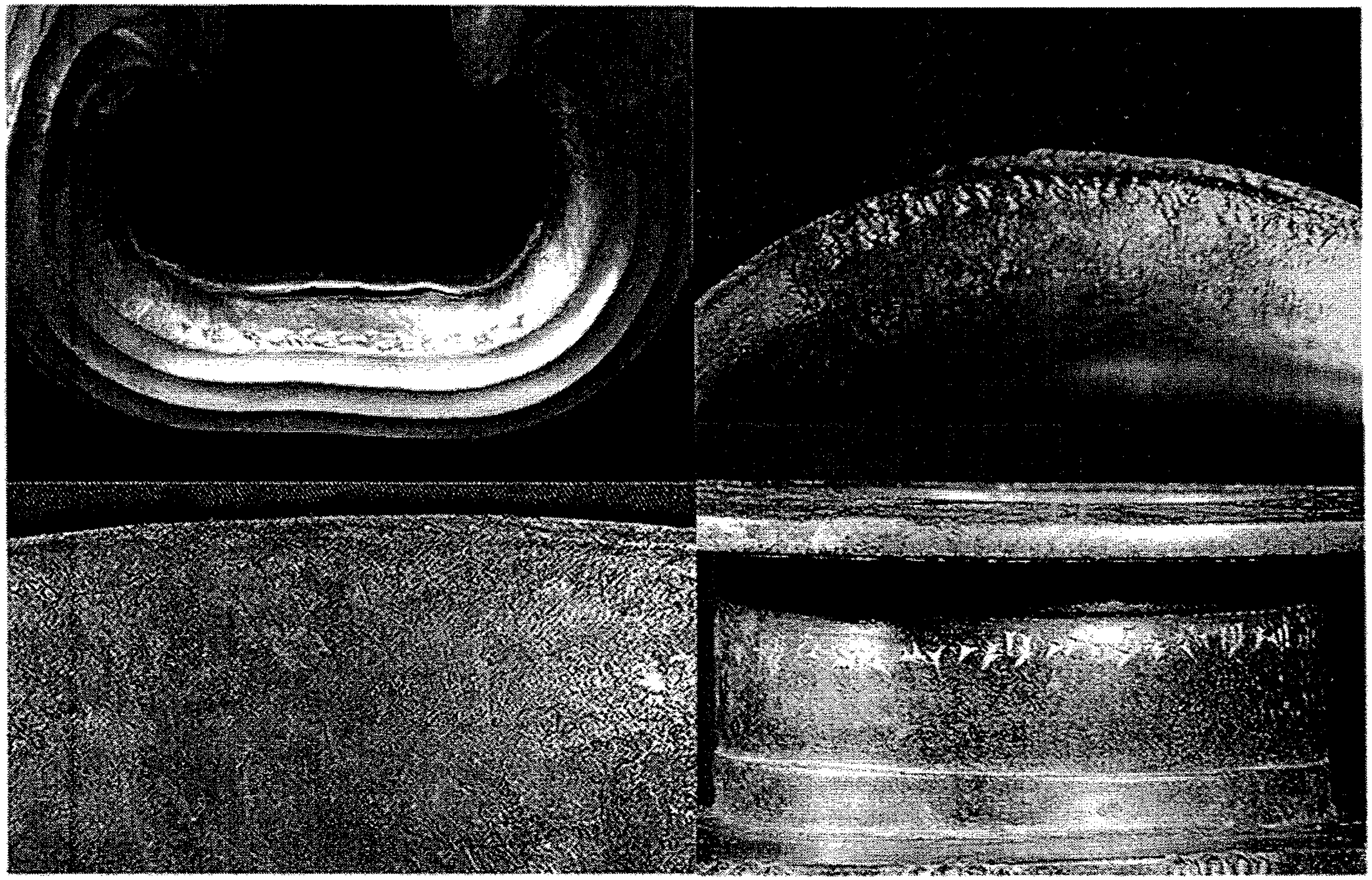
Bronze long-necked jar

PLATE 56



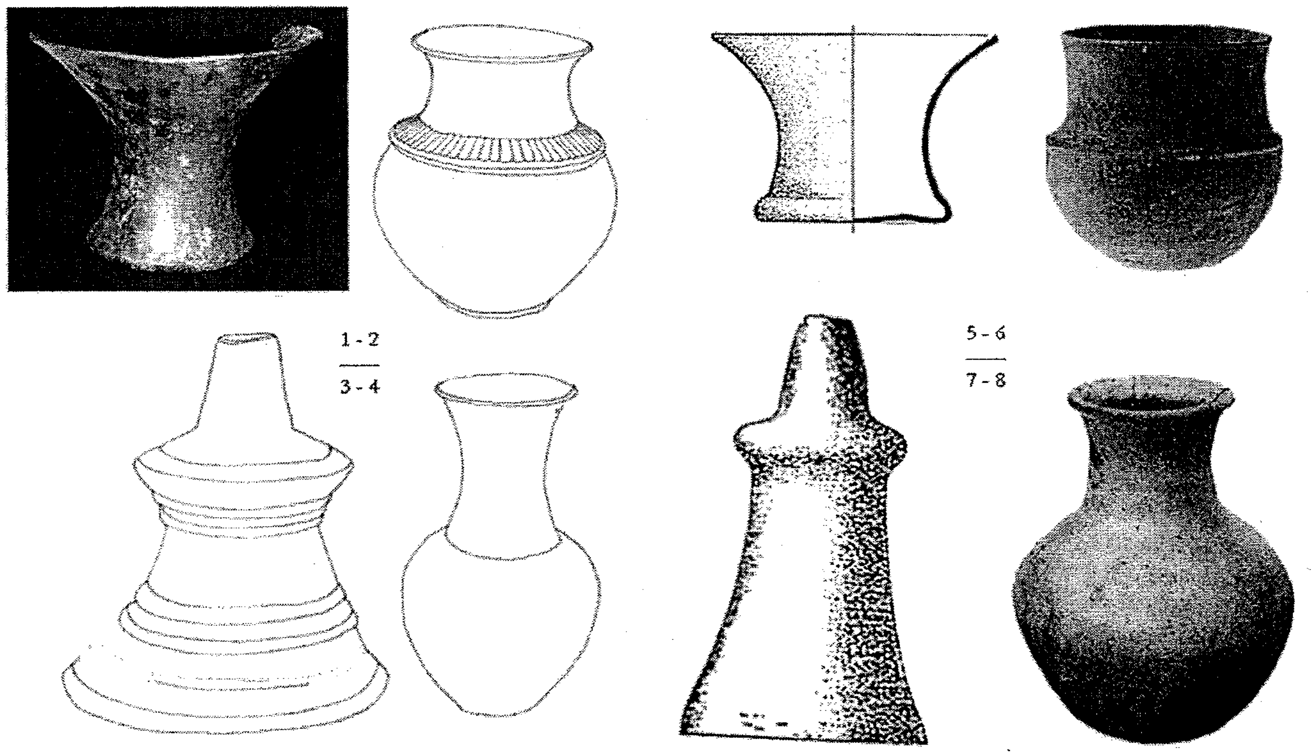
Bronze chalice and stone bowl

PLATE 57

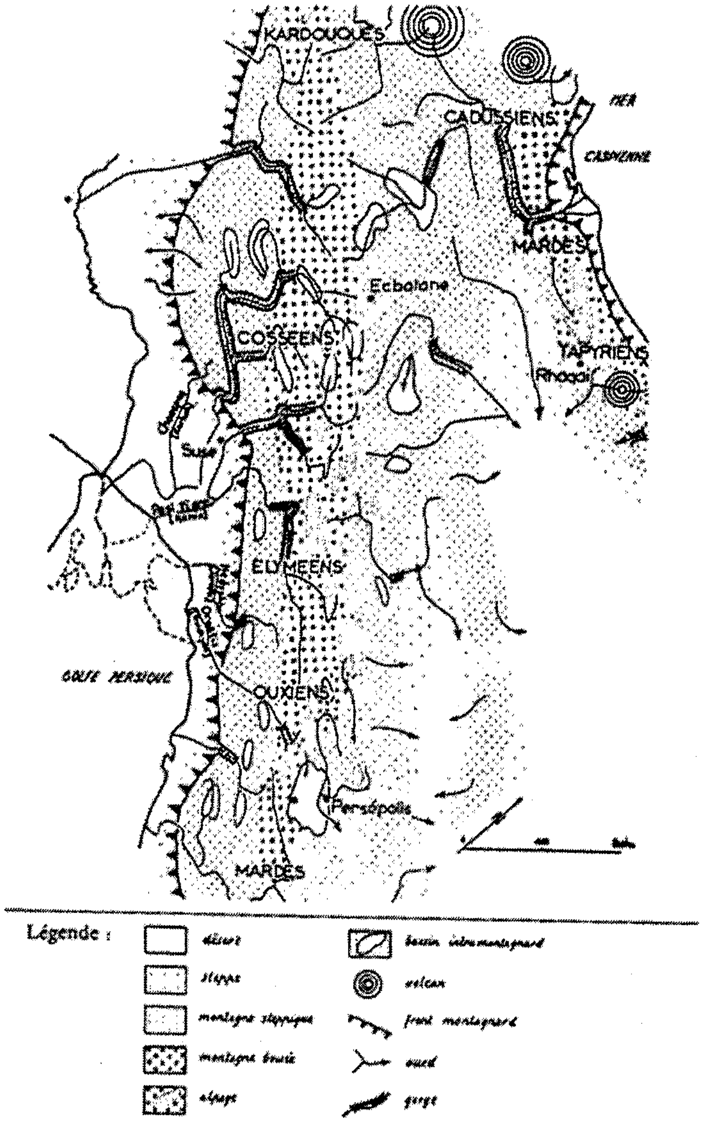


Detail of the Elamite cuneiform inscription in the Arjan ring, the silver bowl, the bronze bowl, and the candelabrum

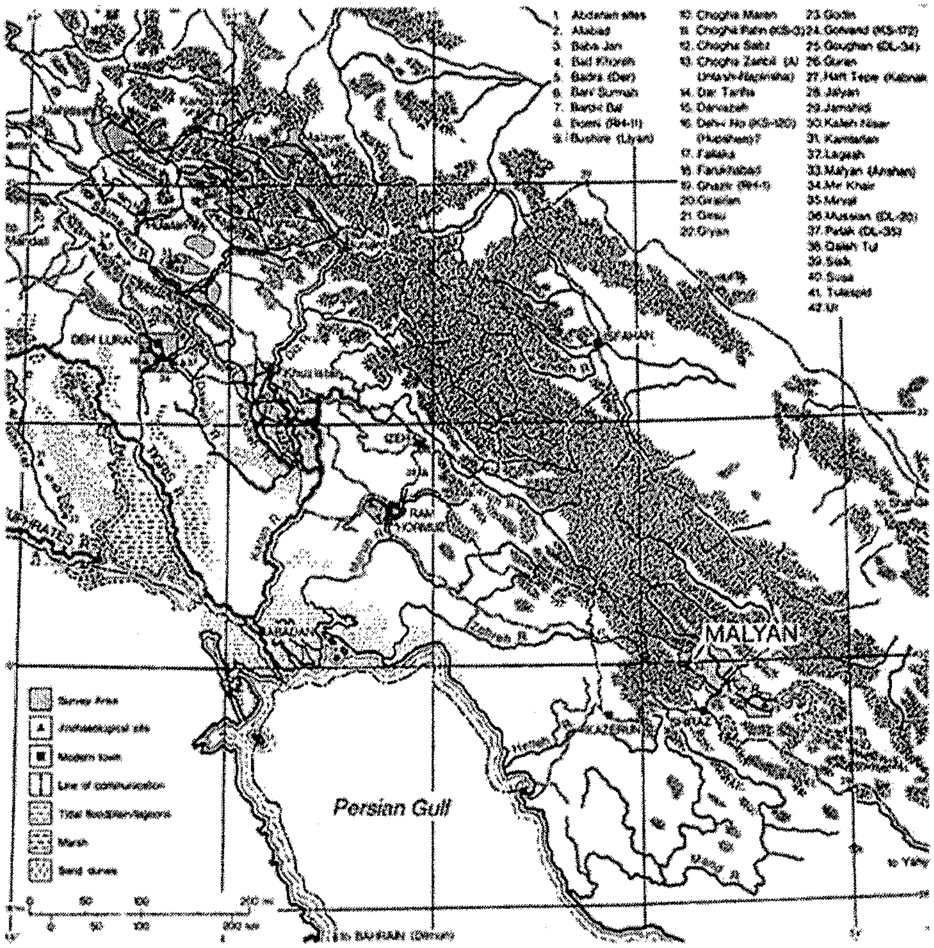
PLATE 58



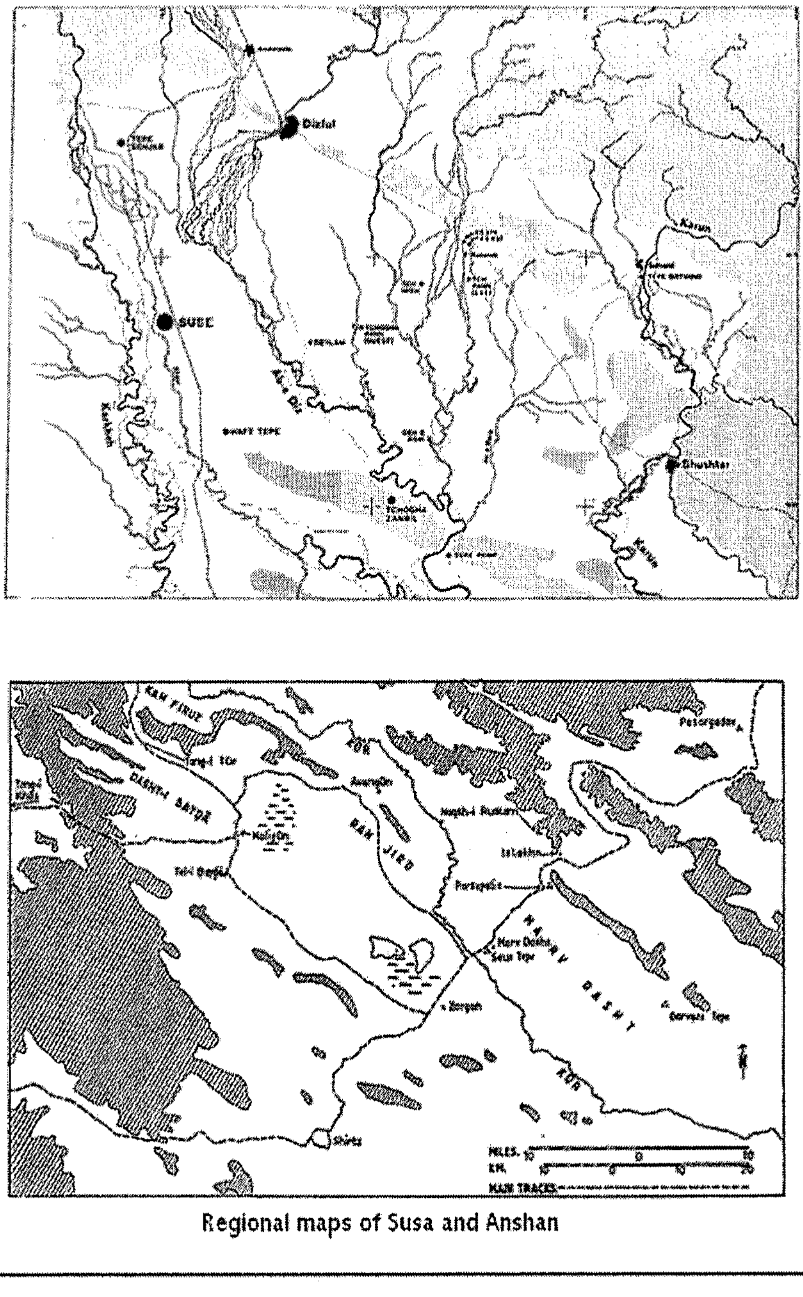
Comparative Neo-Elamite vessel types from Arjan (1-4) and from Susa (5-8)



Zagros tribes in southwestern Iran at the time of ALexander the Great

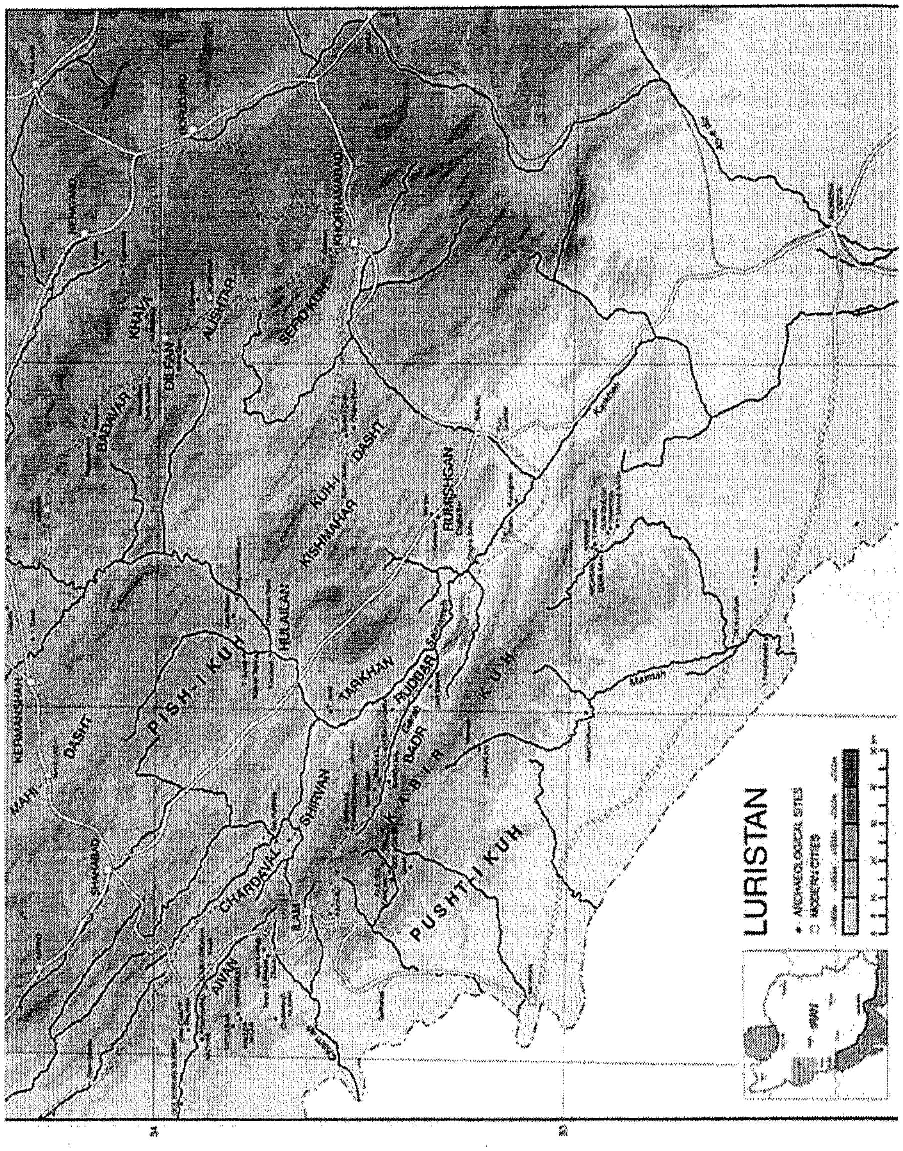


Map of southwestern Iran indicating archaeological surveys



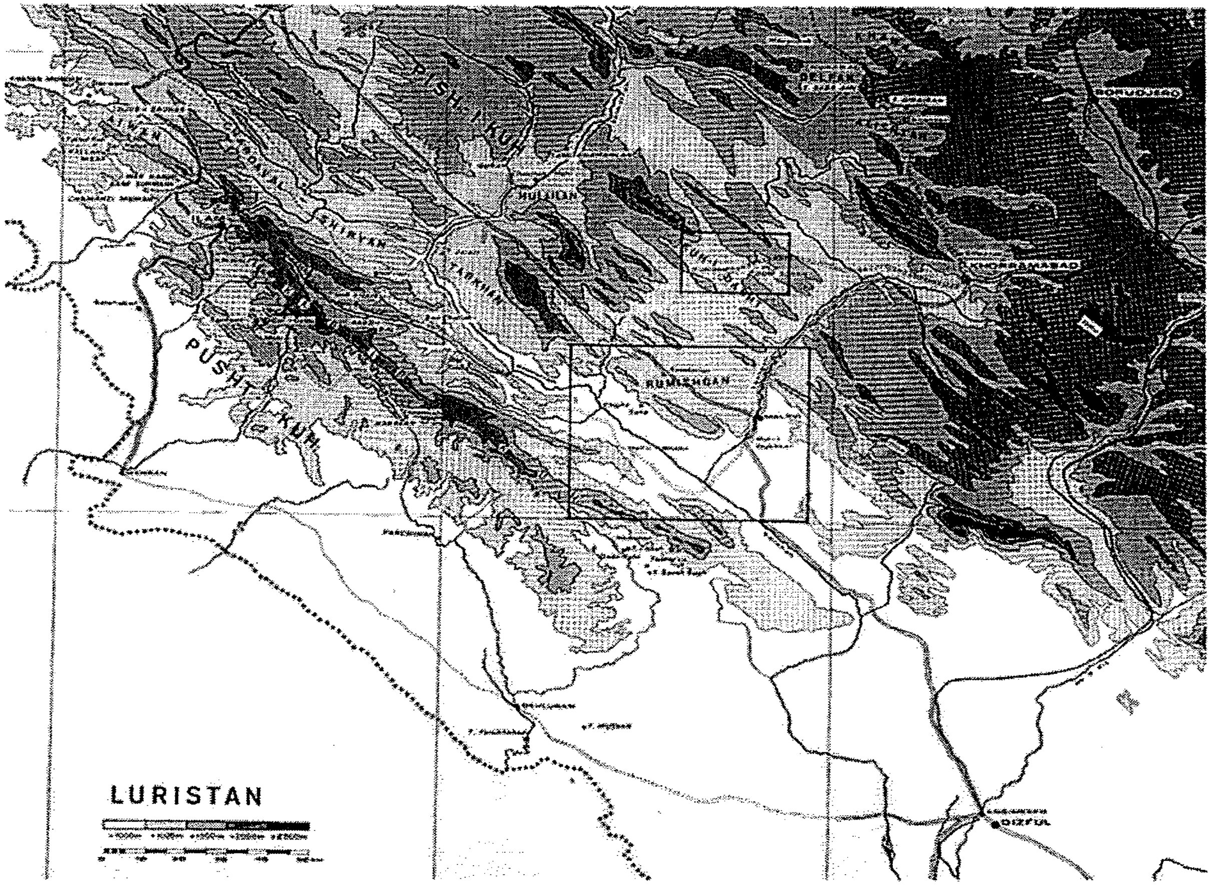
Regional maps of Susa and Anshan

PLATE 62



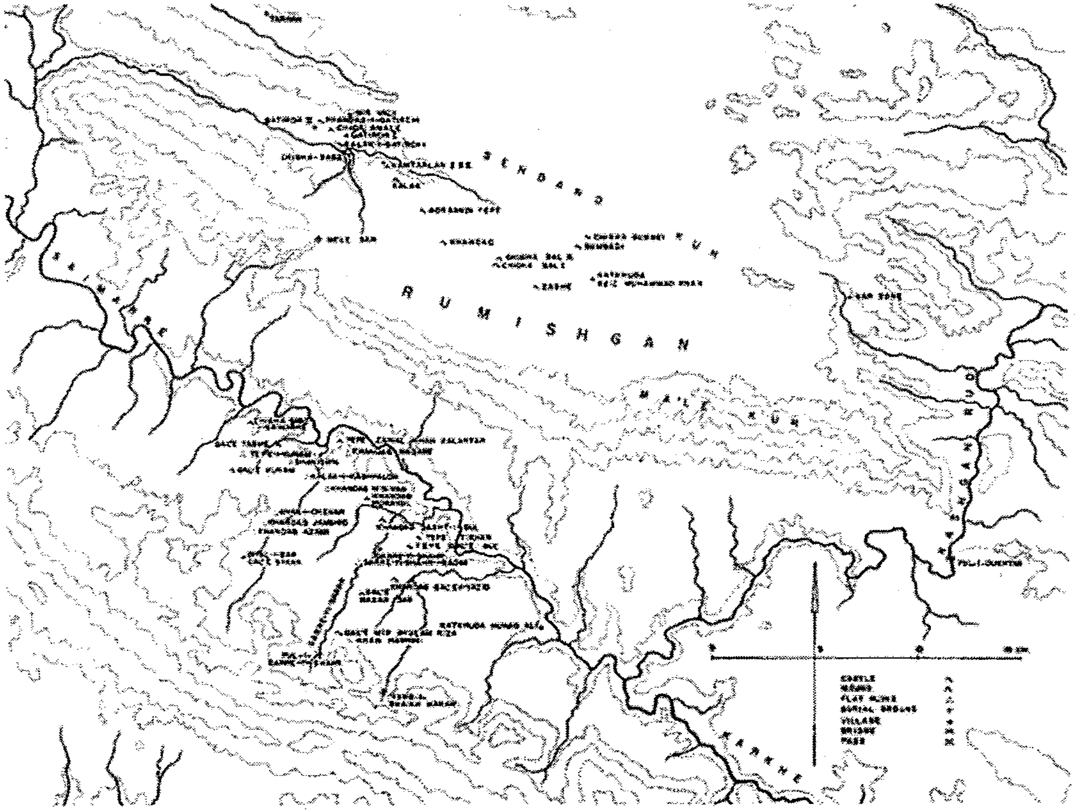
General map of Luristan

PLATE 63



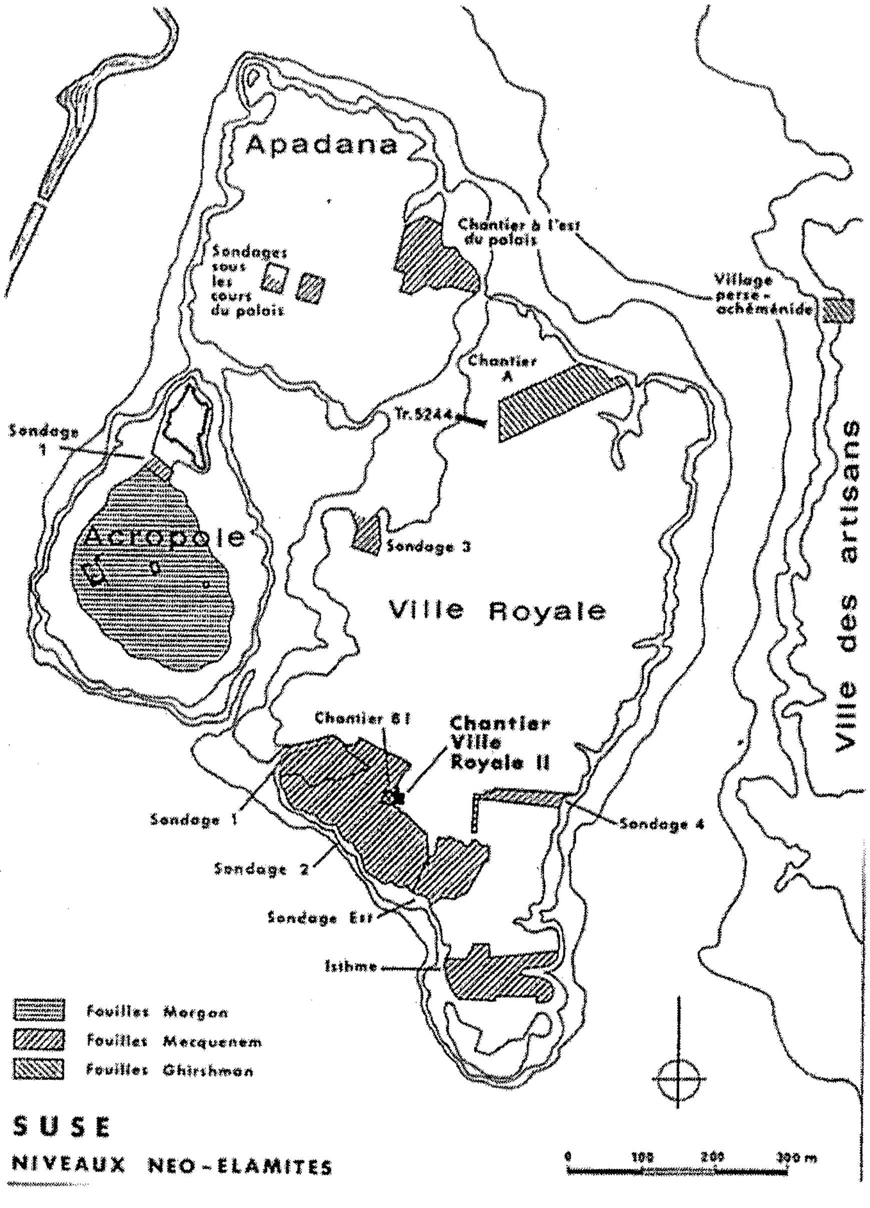
Map of Luristan with regions of Rumishagan and the Kuhdasht valle (in squares)

PLATE 64

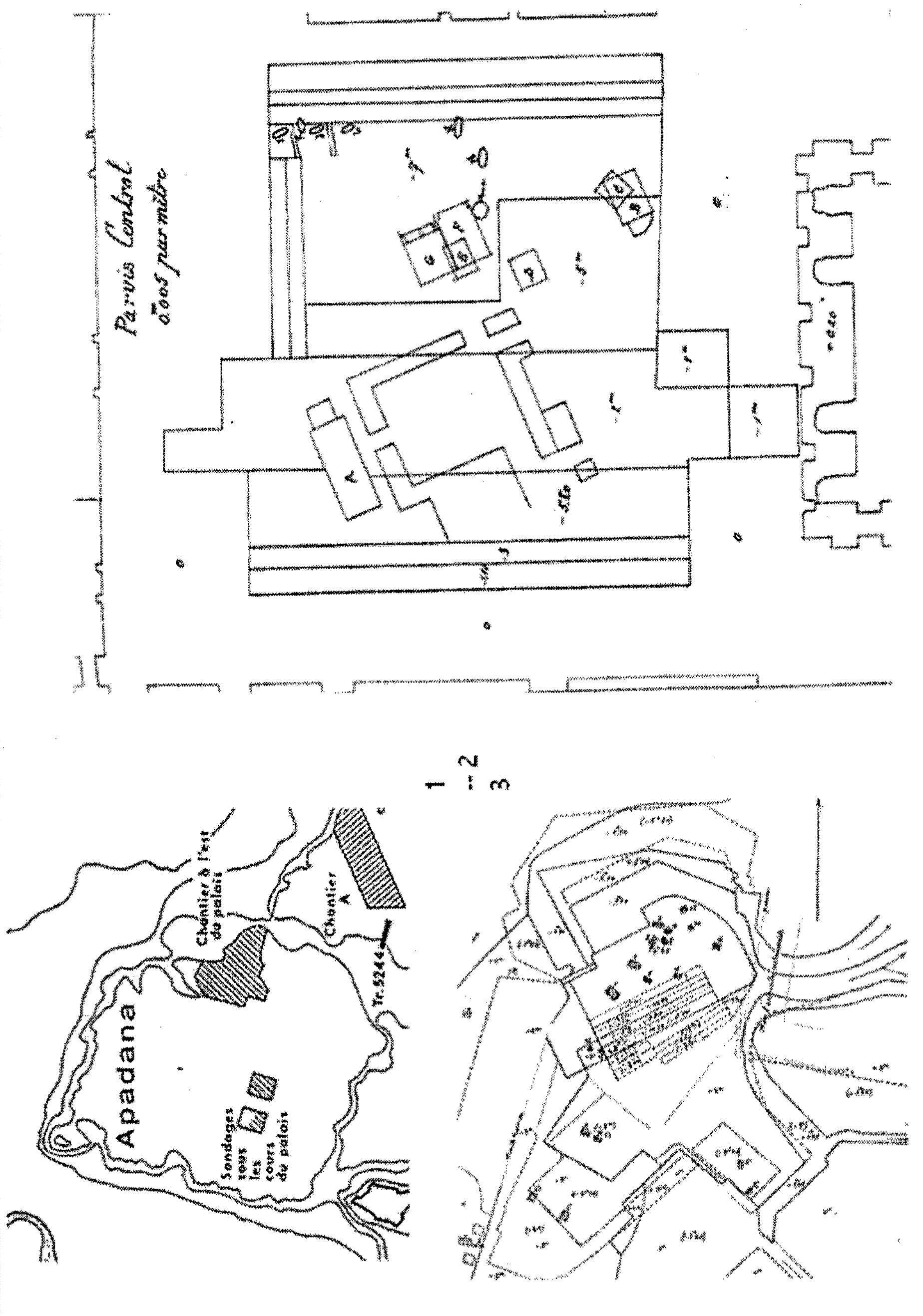


Map of Rumishgan Region

PLATE 65



Neo-Elamite levels from Susa



Excavations under the Central Court and the eastern sector

PLATE 67

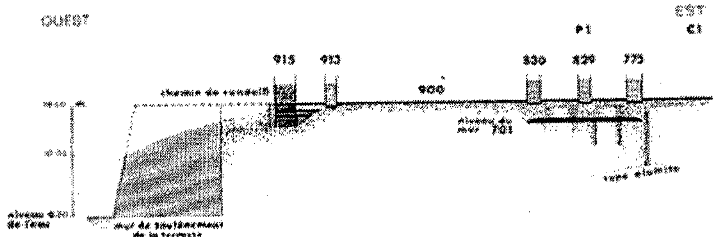


Fig. 6 : Tépé de l'Apadana. Coupe schématique est-ouest de la partie occidentale de la terrasse du palais de Darius.

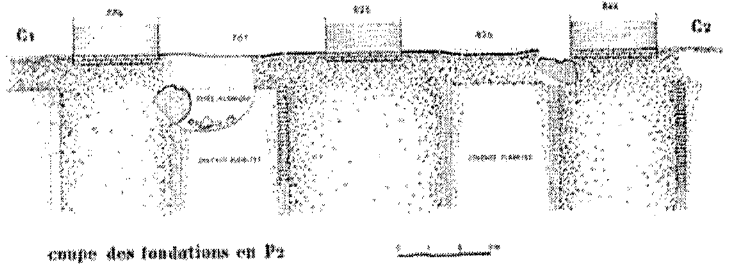


Fig. 7 : Palais de Darius Ier à Suse. Coupe est-ouest des fondations du corps de bâtiment P2 entre les cours C1 et C2.

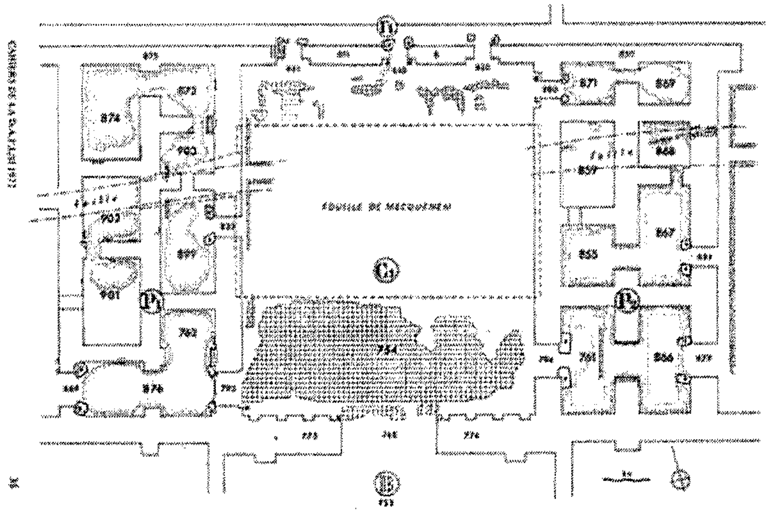
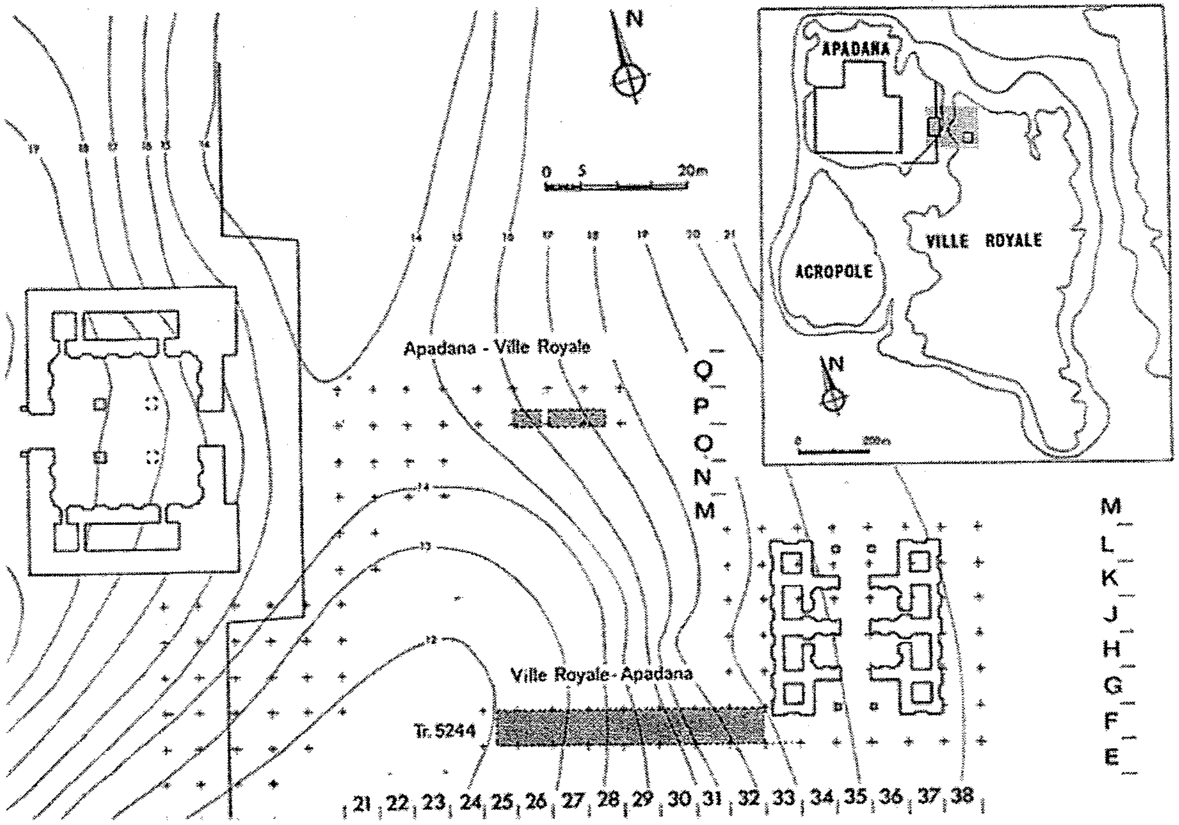


Fig. 12 : Palais de Darius Ier à Suse. Relevé des vestiges actuels autour de la cour C1.

Elamite remains under the Central Courtyard of Darius' palace

PLATE 68



Neo-Elamite excavations in the Apadana-Ville Royale and Ville Royale-Apadana

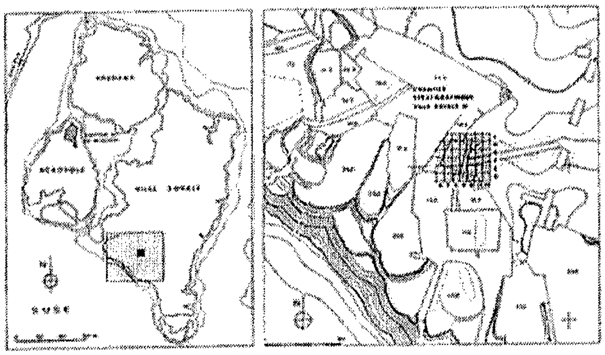


fig. 1. Plan de situation du chantier Ville Royale II.

FIGURE 2

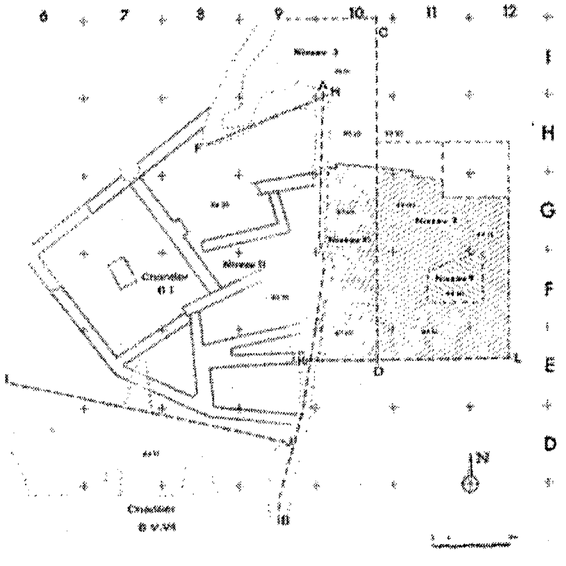
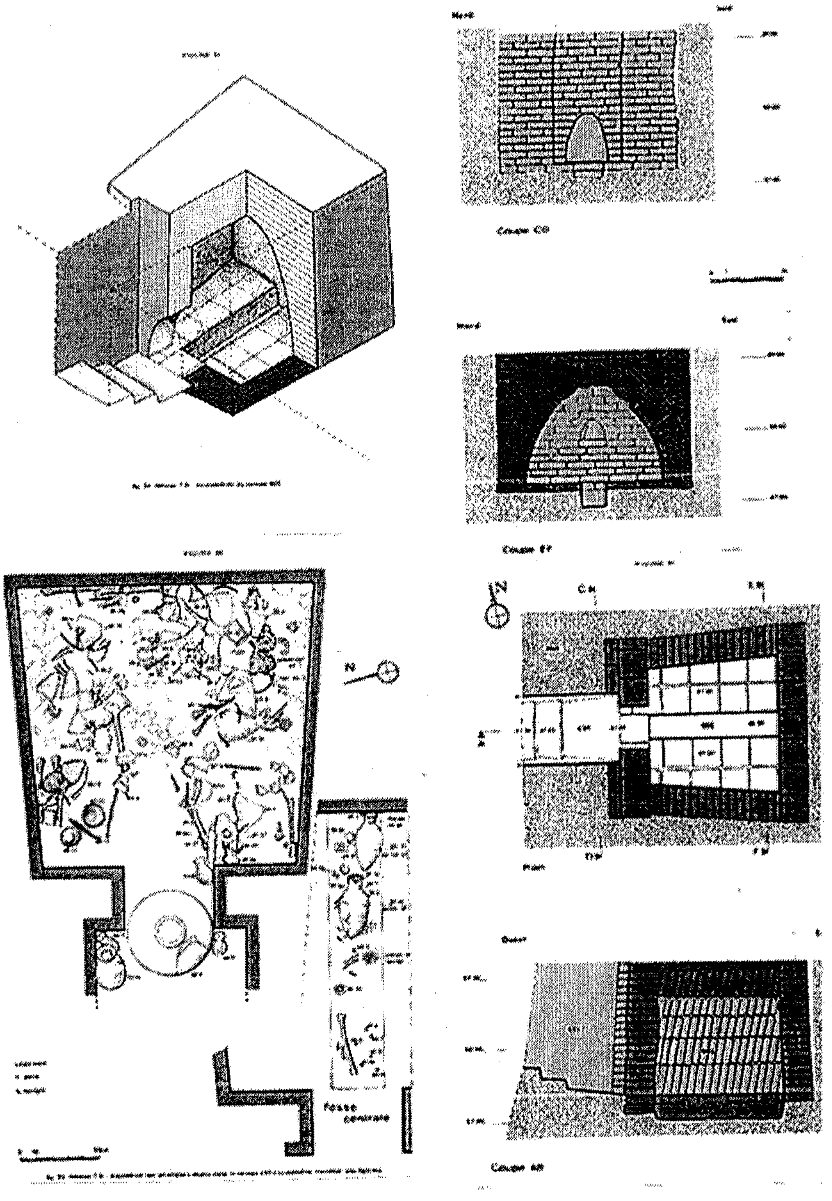


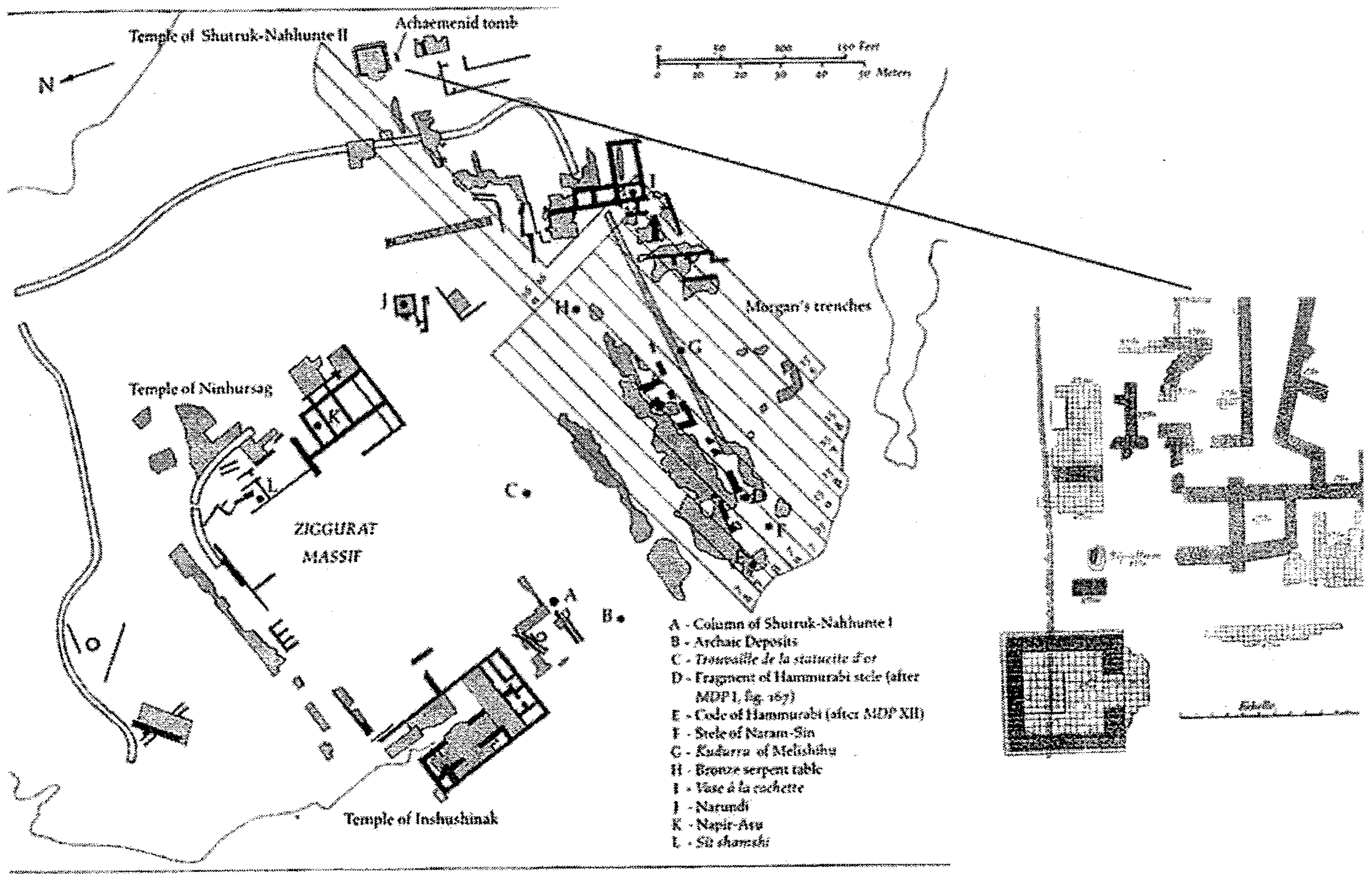
Figure 6c Neo-Elamite remains form the Ville-Royale

Neo-Elamite levels from the Ville Royale

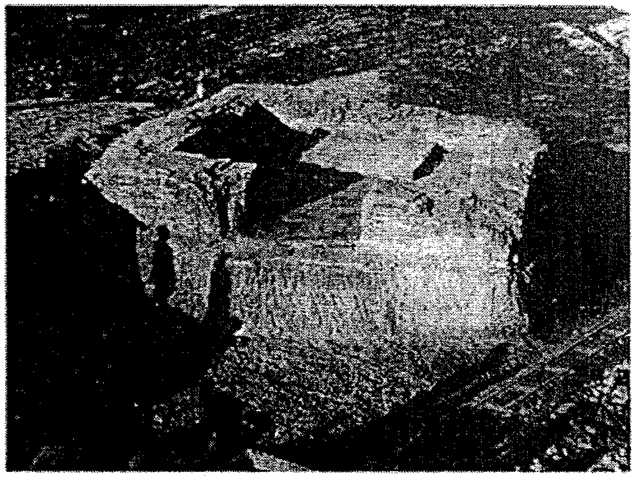


Neo-Elamite funerary remains from tomb 693, Viller-Royale level 7b

PLATE 71



Location of the Neo-Elamite temple of Inšušinak at the Apadana

1


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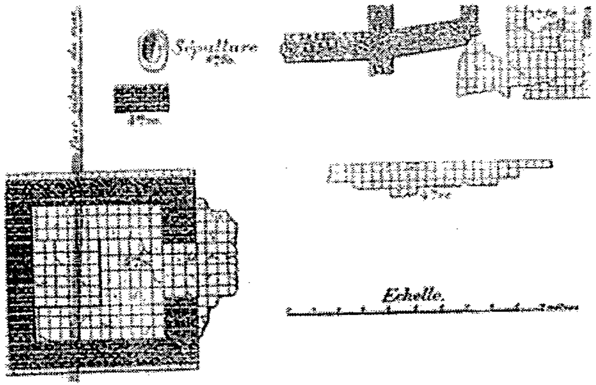

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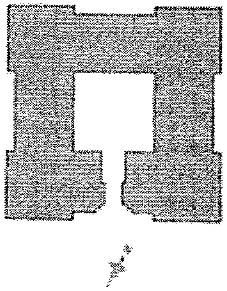

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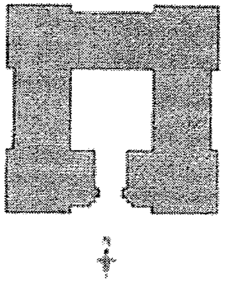

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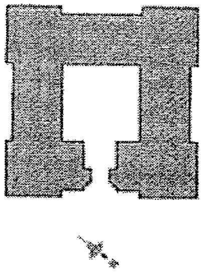

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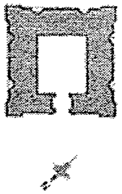

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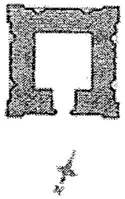
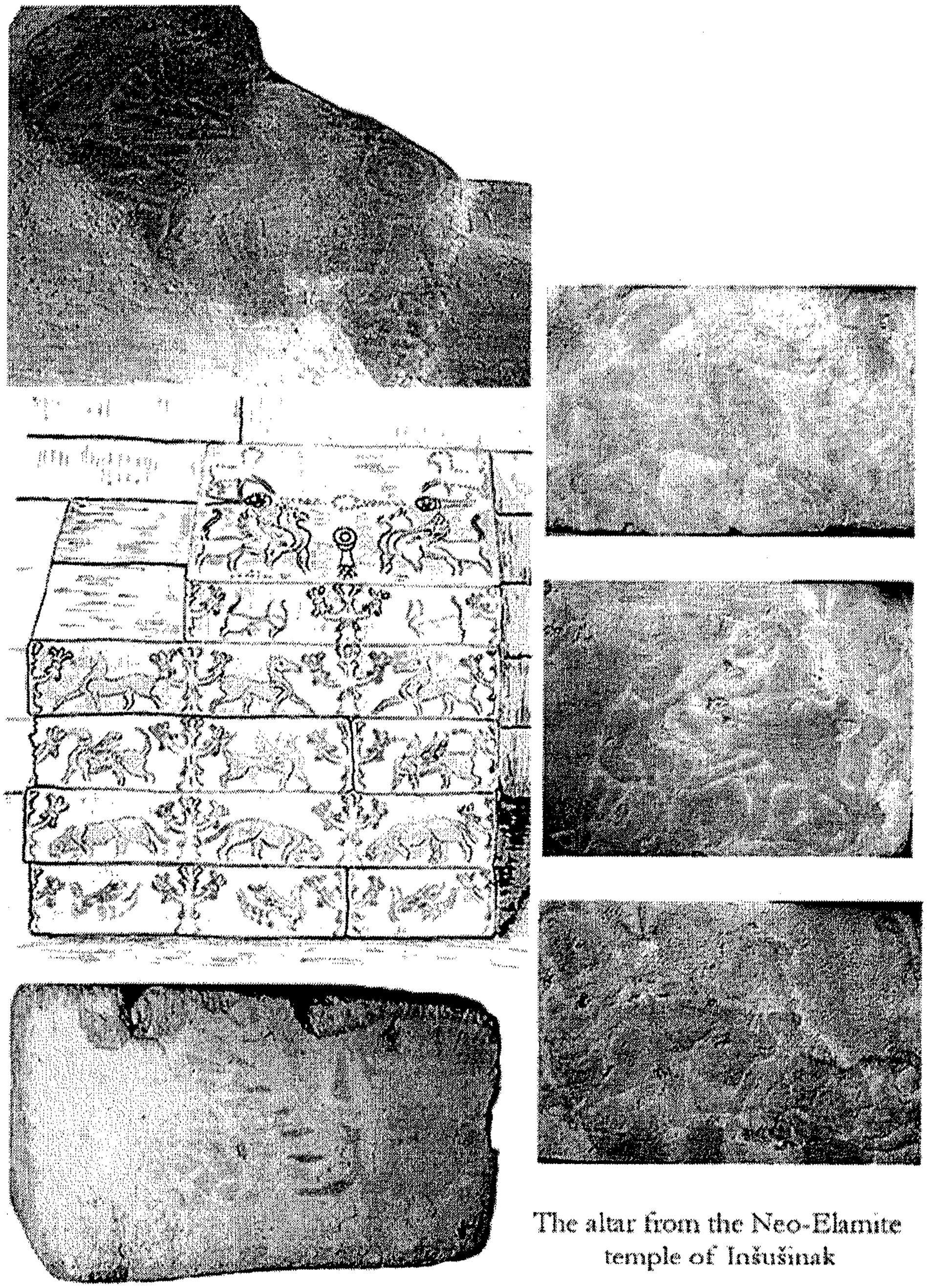


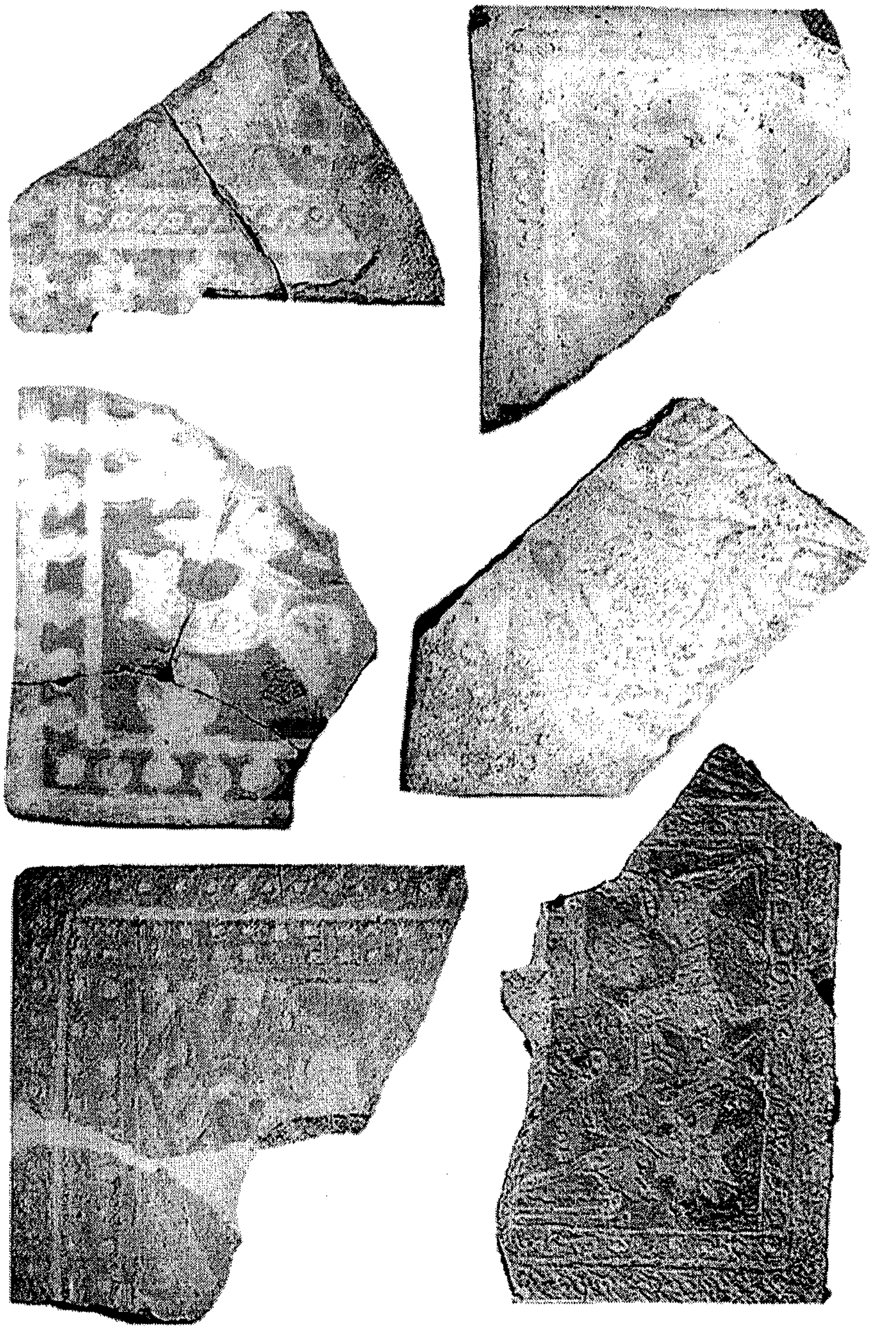
Neo-Elamite temple-cella of Inshushinak (1,2) Urartian temple-cellas (3,4,5), and Achaemenid cella (6,7)

PLATE 73



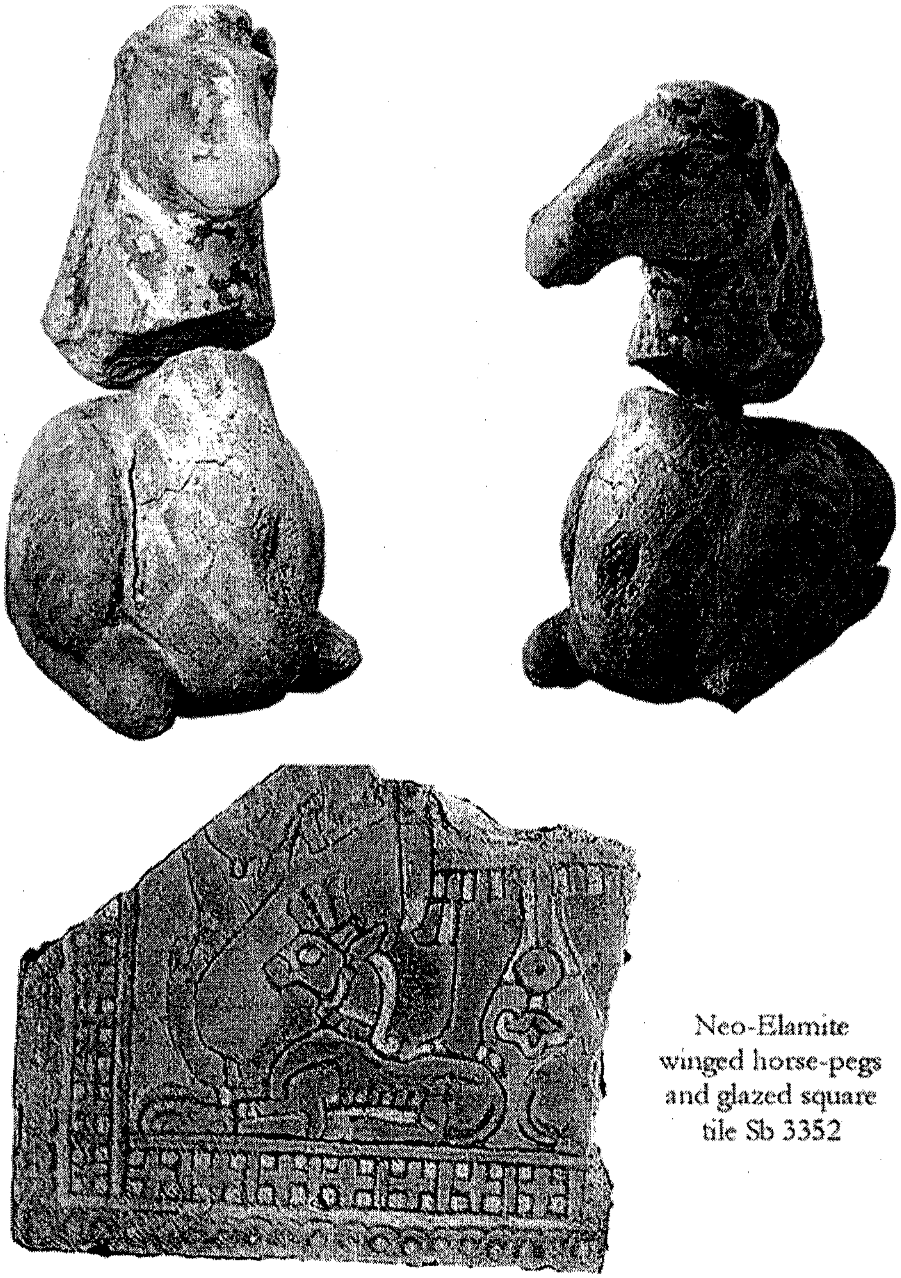
The altar from the Neo-Elamite temple of Inšušinak

PLATE 74



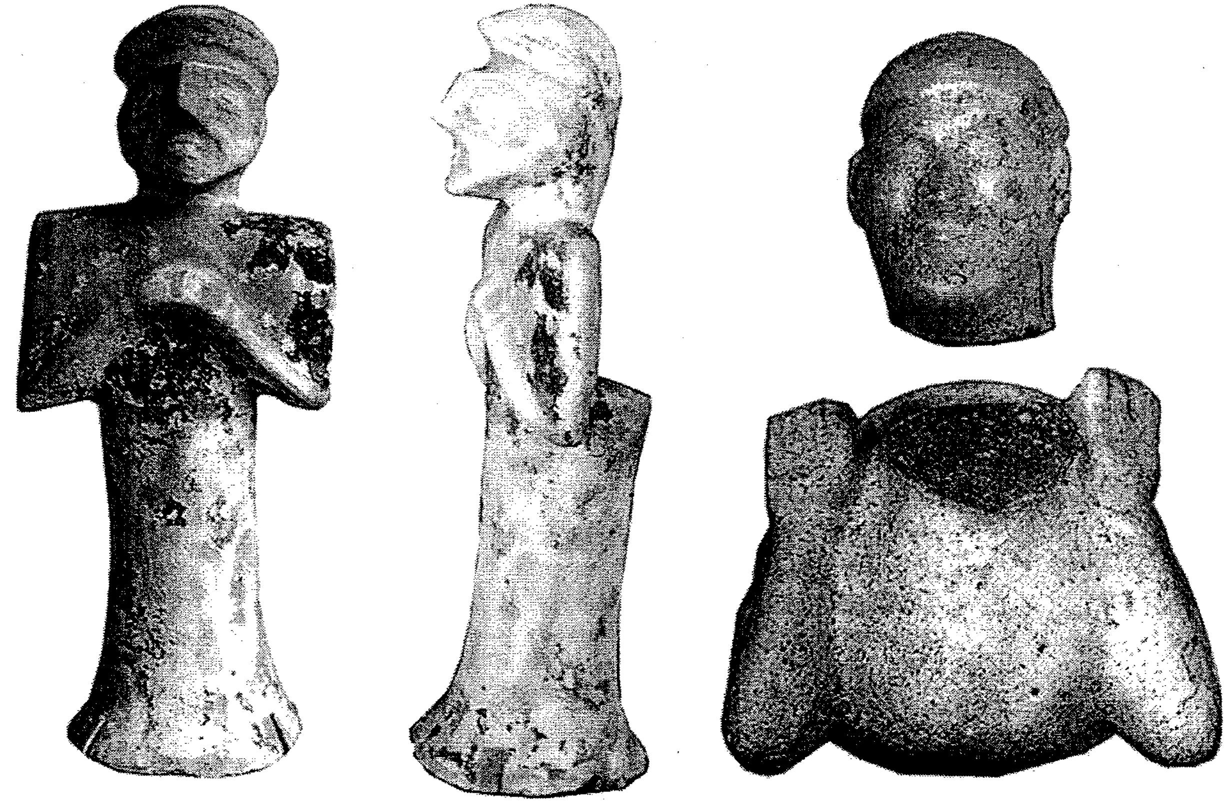
Neo-Elamite polychrome glazed plaques from Susa

PLATE 75



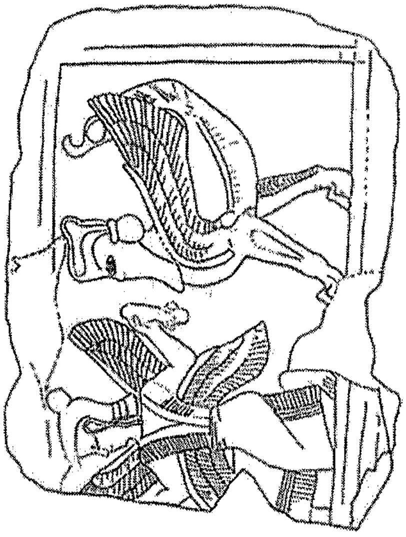
Neo-Elamite
winged horse-pegs
and glazed square
tile Sb 3352

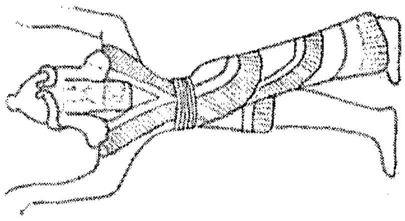
PLATE 76

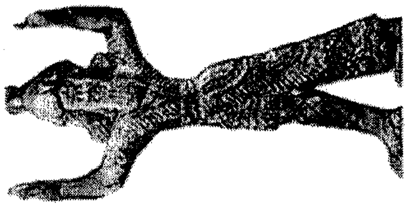


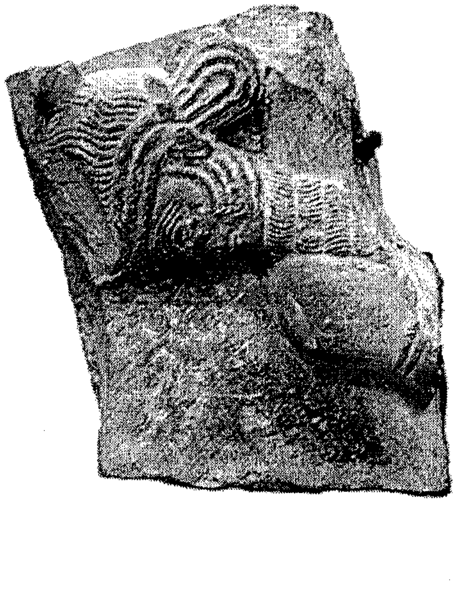
Neo-Elamite glazed statuette (Sb 458) and anthropomorphic glazed peg (Sb 6715)

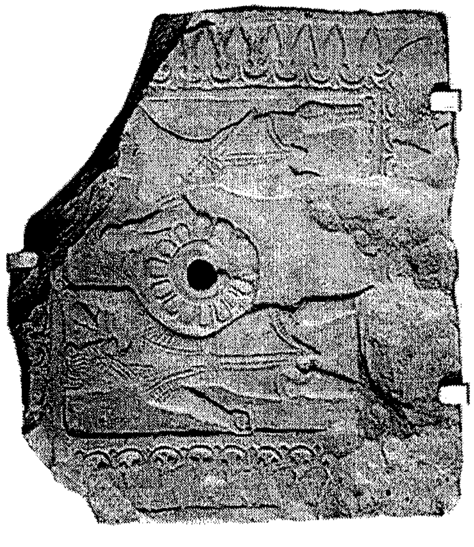
PLATE 77











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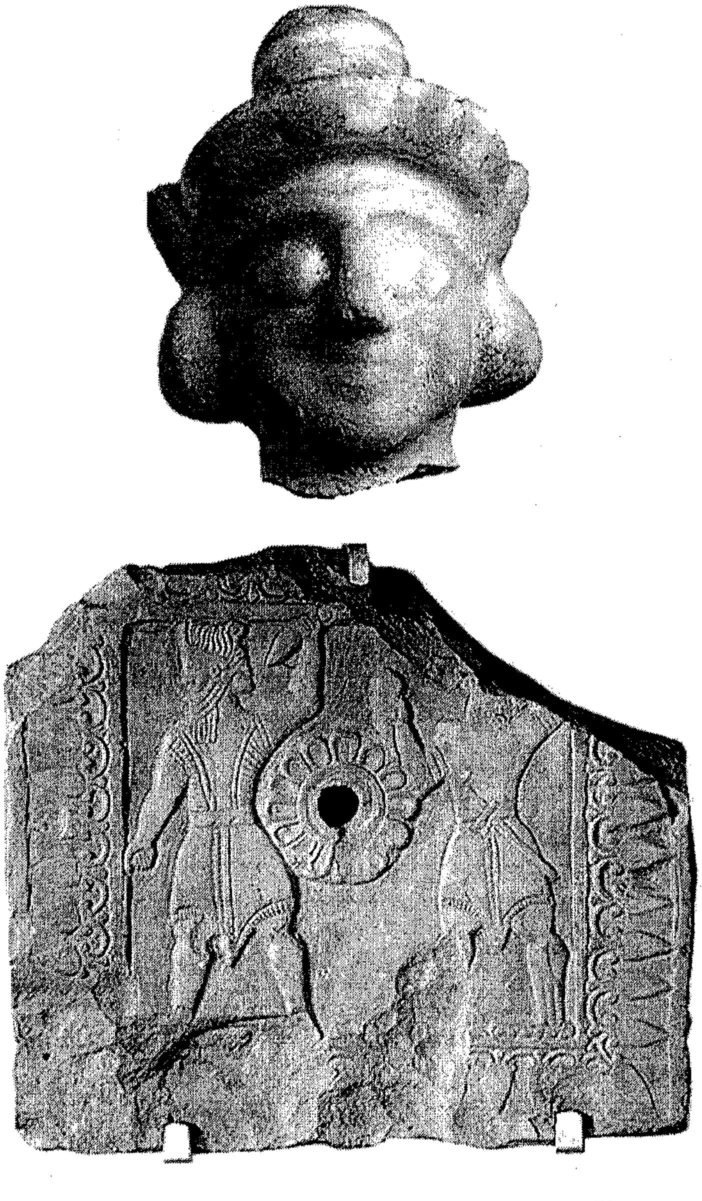
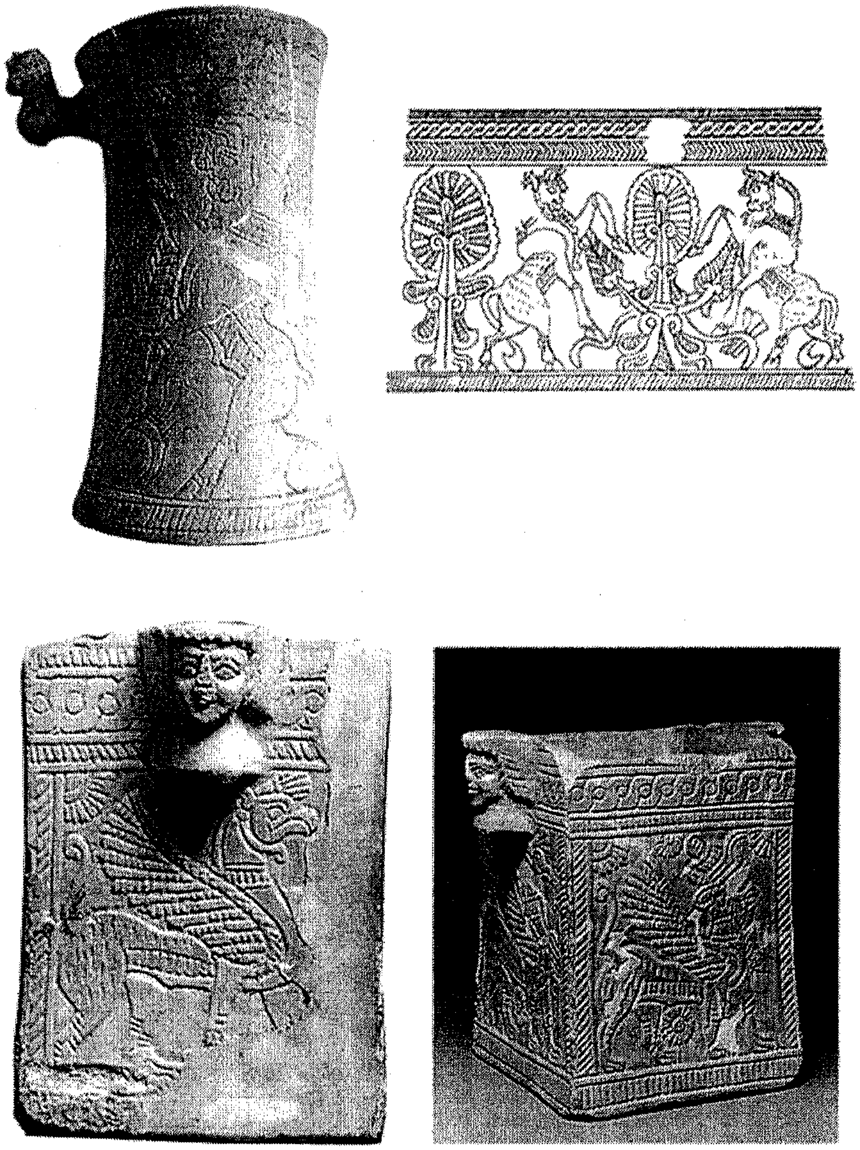


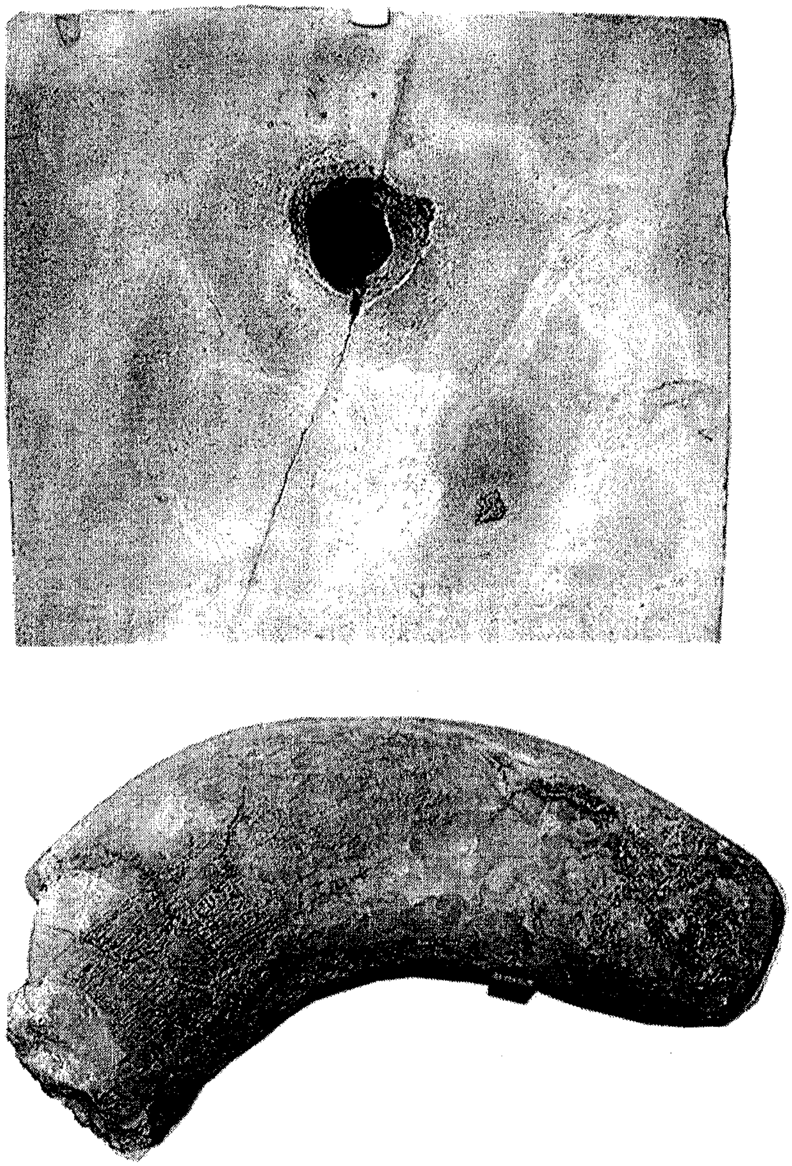
Neo-Elamite glazed head of Statuette (Sb 457)
and Elamo-Assyrian apotropaic plaque (Sb 43)

PLATE 79



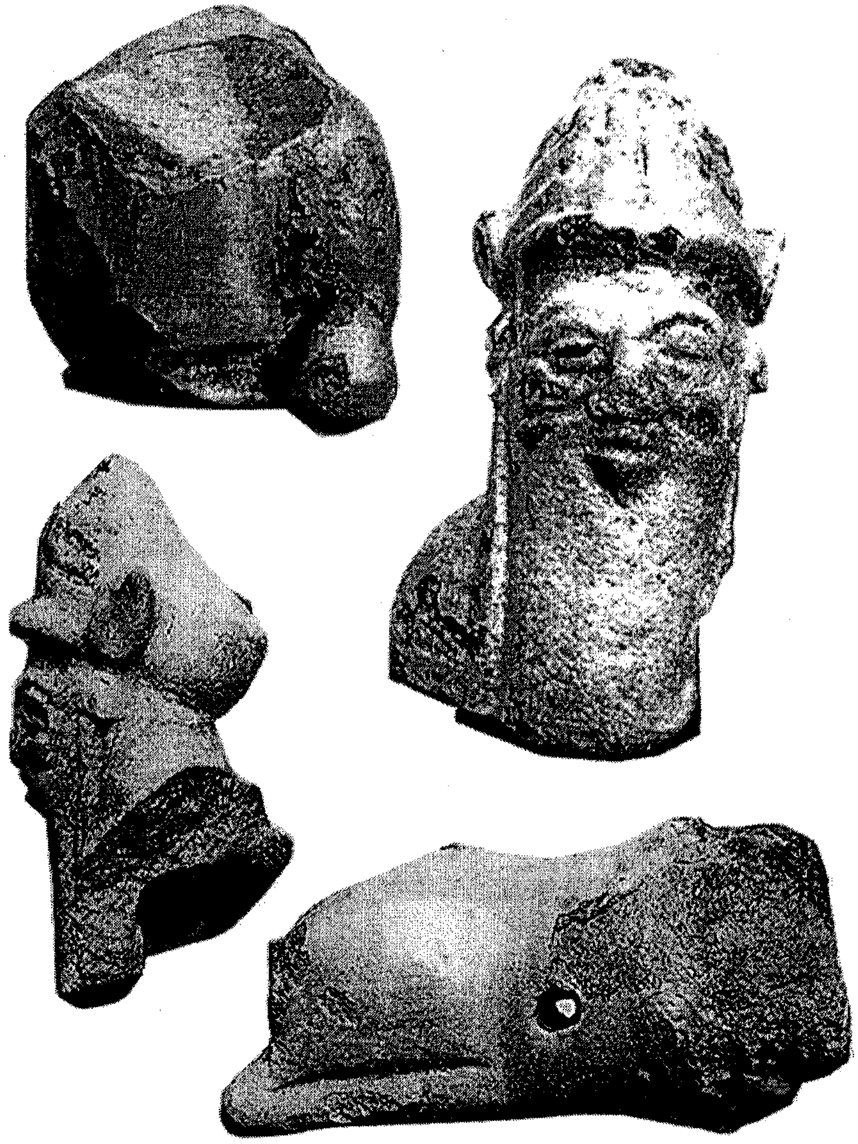
Neo-Elamite glazed conical vase Sb 411 and square glazed box Sb 2810

PLATE 80



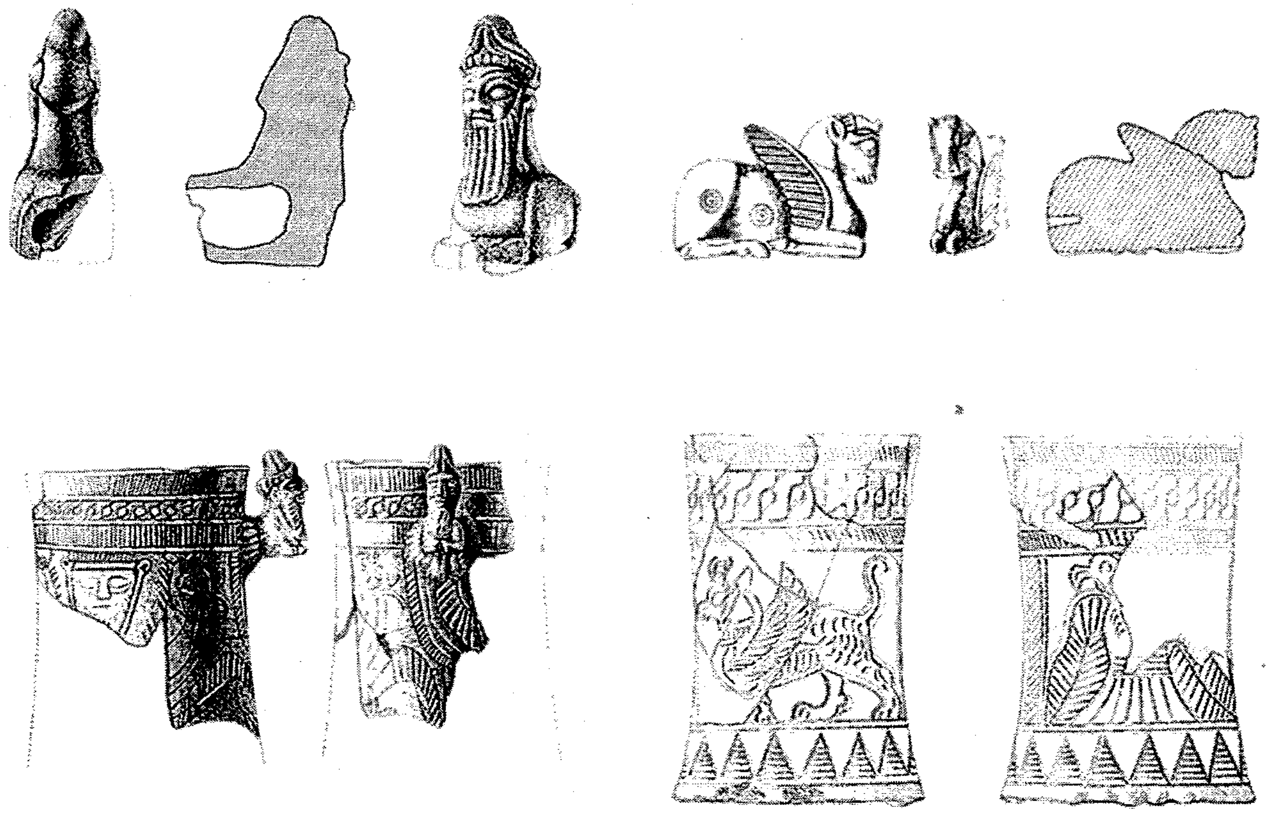
Neo-Elamte glazed plaque with representation of ibex framing a tree-of-life (Sb 3354) and alabaster horn dedicated to the temple to the goddess Pinigir at Susa by Šutur Nahhunte (Sb 102)

PLATE 81



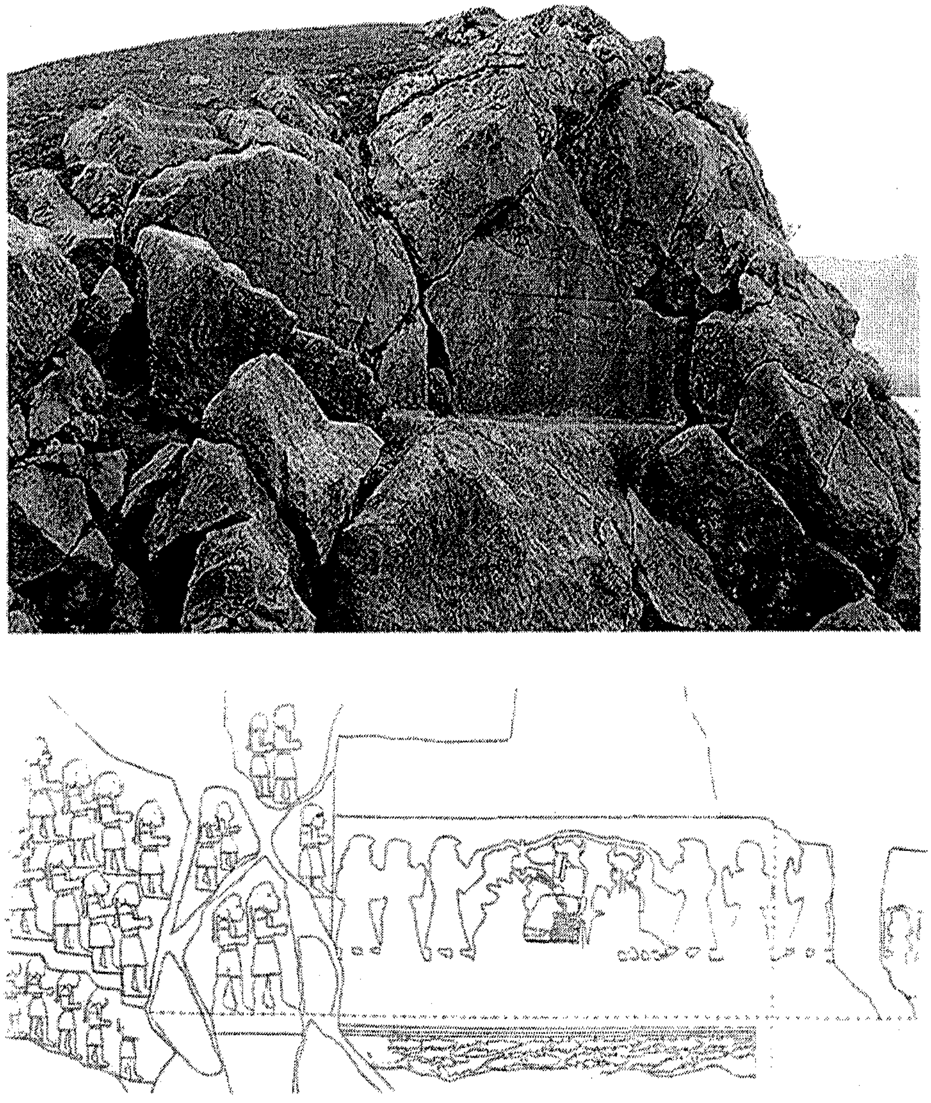
Neo-Elamite bull-god pegs Sb 6790 and Sb 6652

PLATE 82



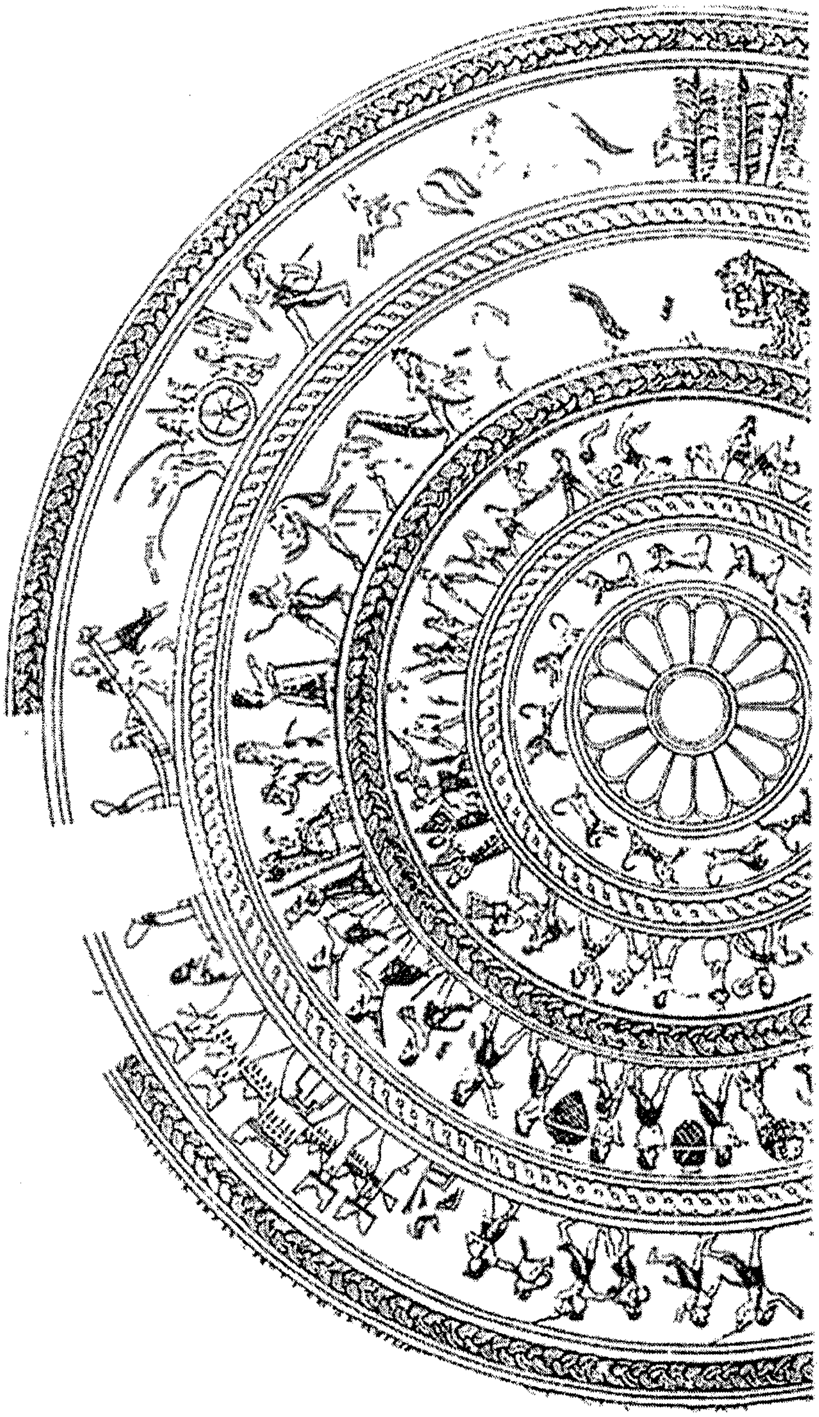
Objects from Surkh Dum-i Luri (Luristan)

PLATE 83



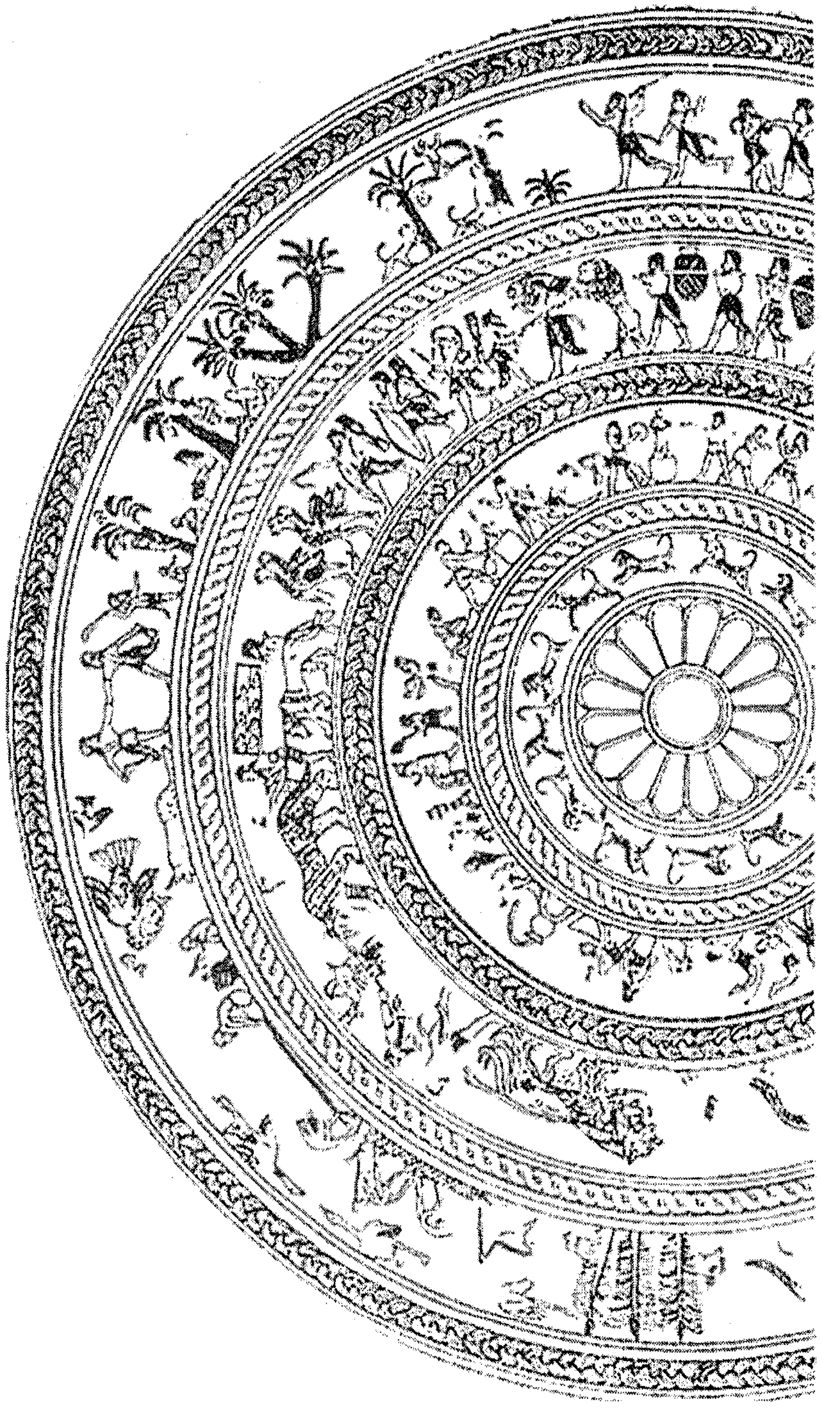
The Sanctuary of Kurangun

PLATE 84

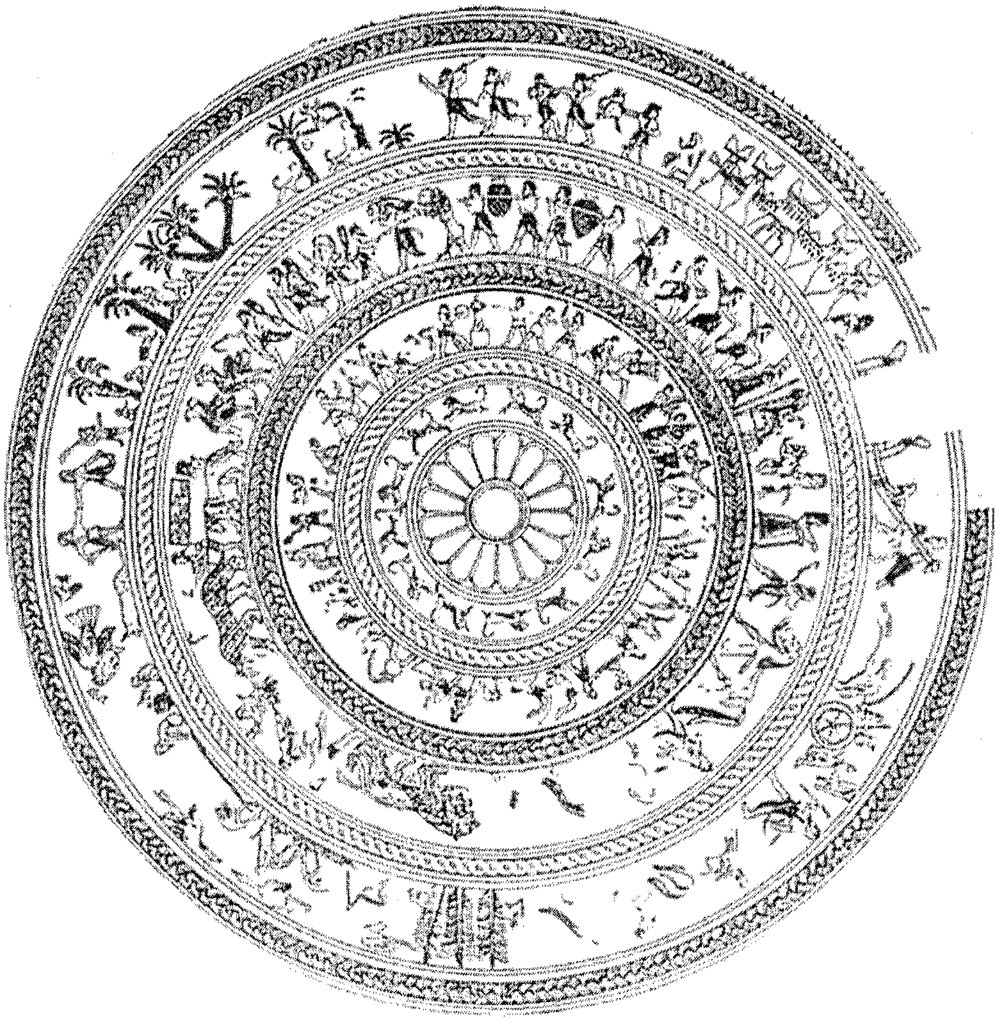


Section drawing of the Arjan bowl (I)

PLATE 85

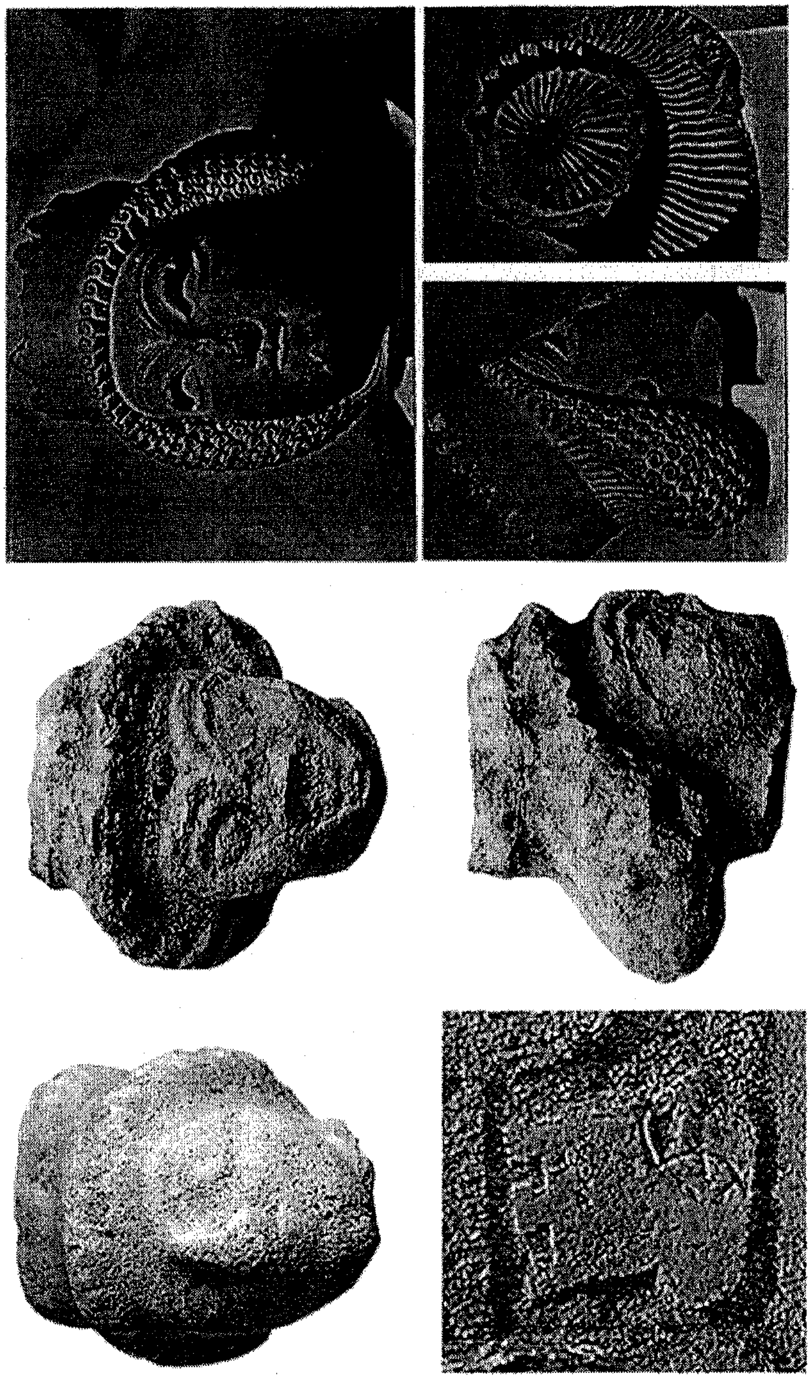


Partial drawing of the Arjan bowl (II)

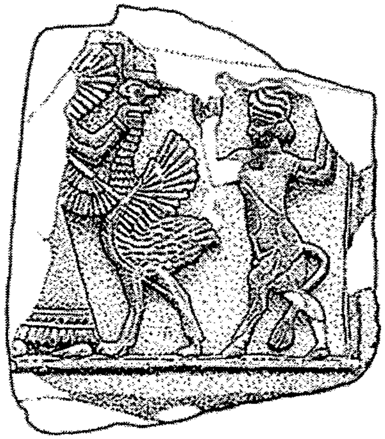


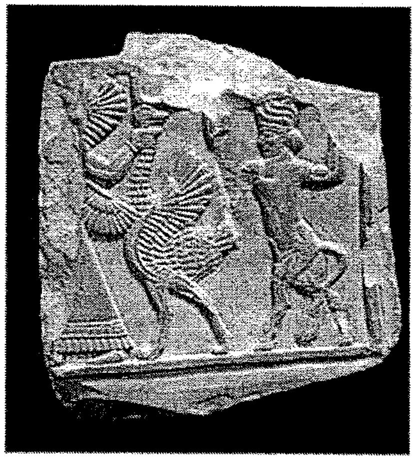
Drawing of the Arjan bowl

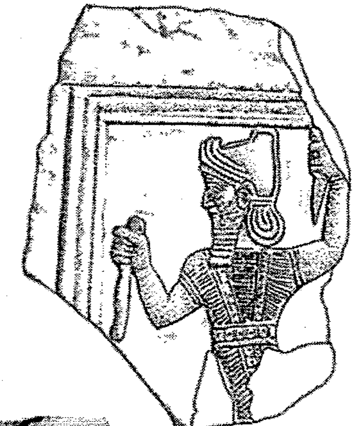
PLATE 87

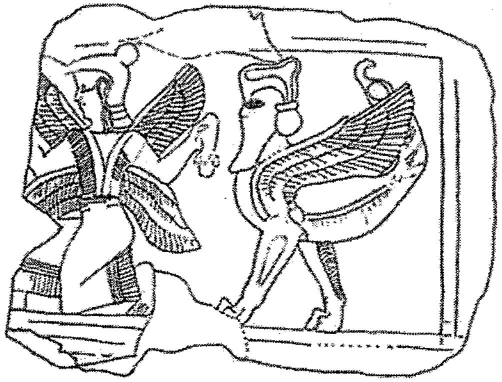


Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid "Queens"









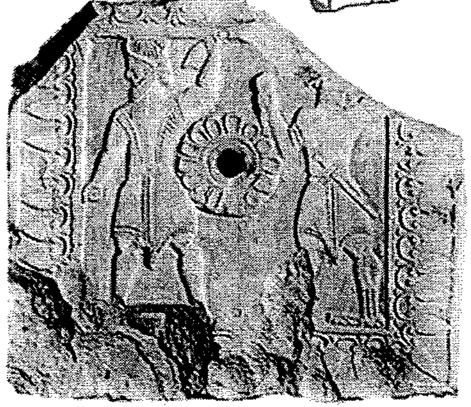
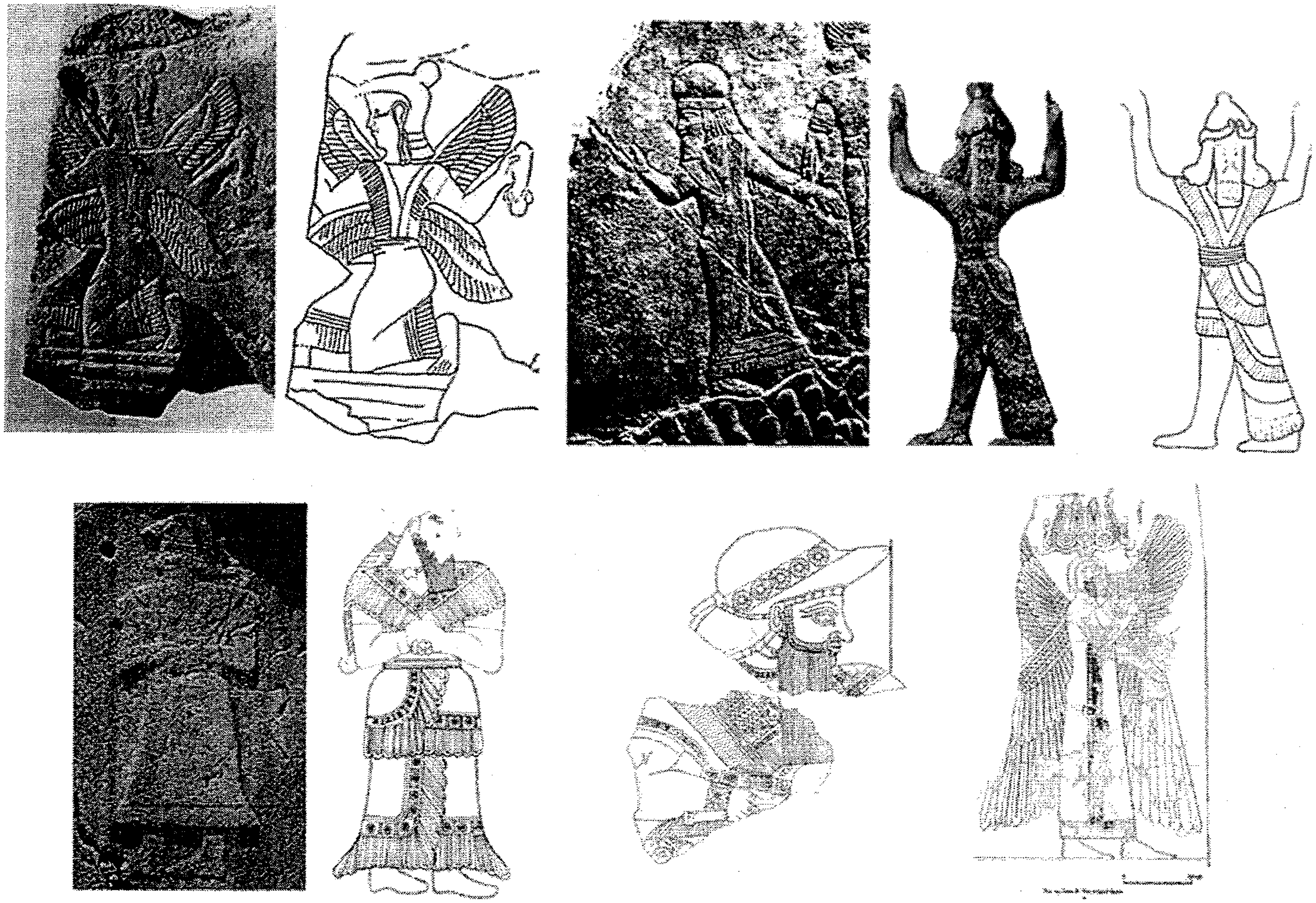
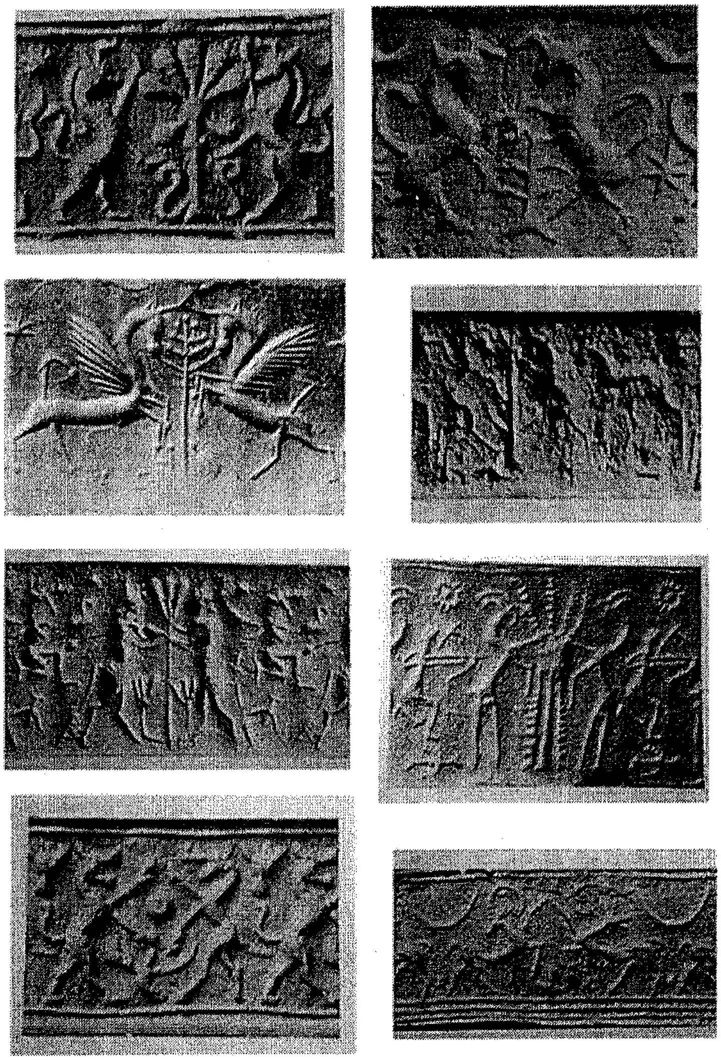


PLATE 88



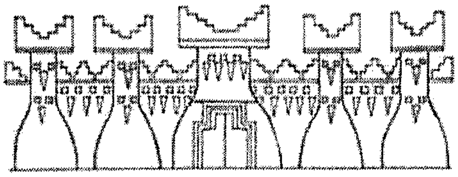
Neo-Elamite garments

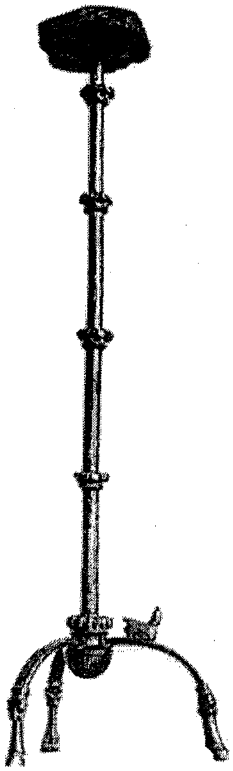
PLATE 90

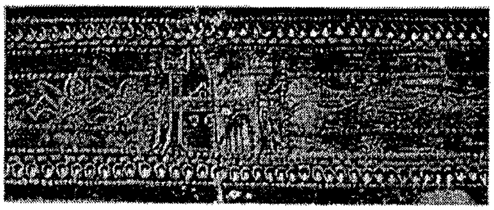


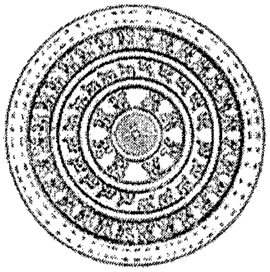
Luristan seals including a representation of a tree-of-life framed by twin animals

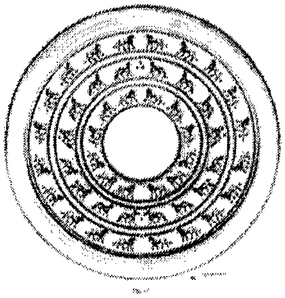
PLATE 91





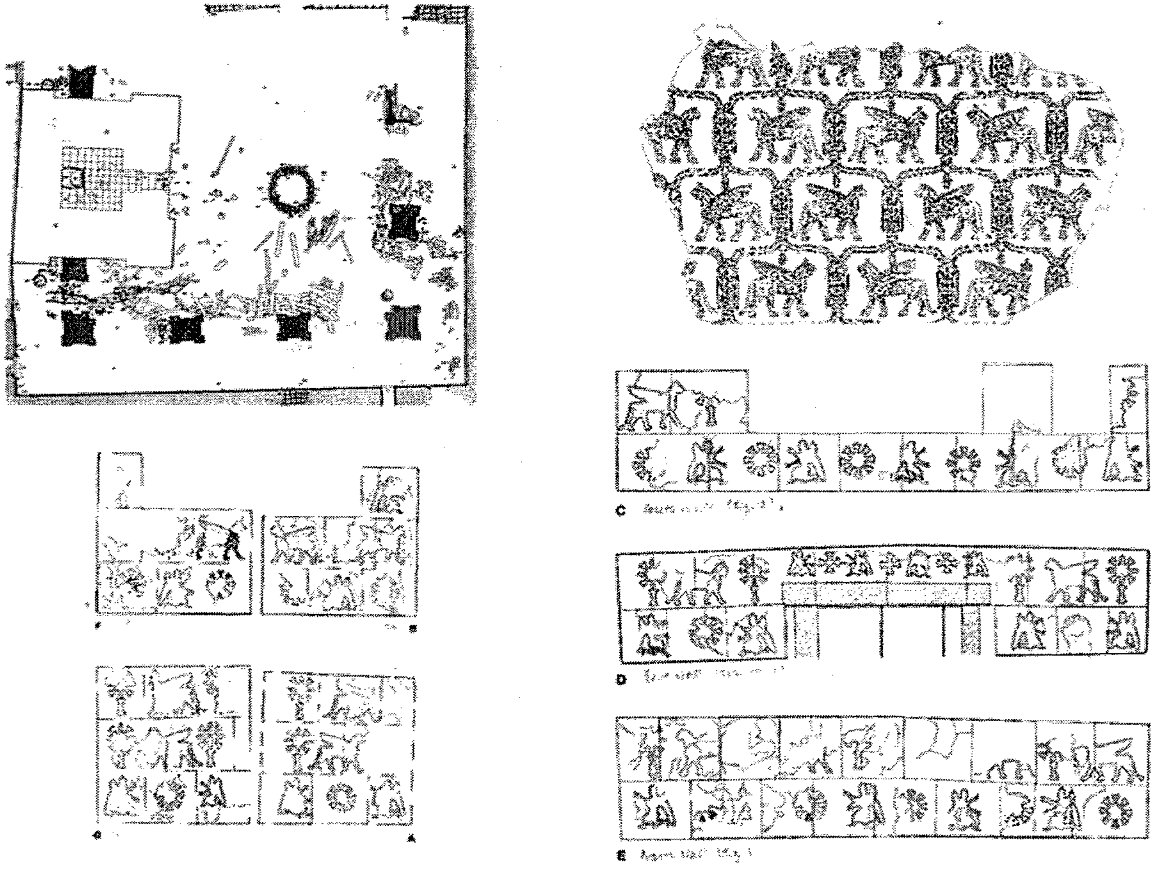






Urartian parallels with the Arjan material

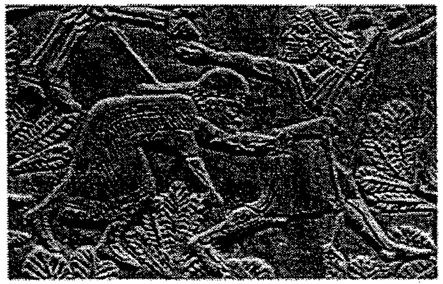
PLATE 92



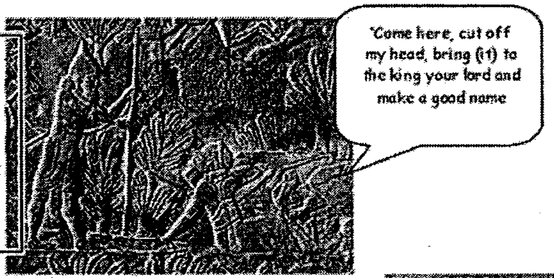
Plan of the Urartian temple of Ayanis and decorations of the altar and inner walls

PLATE 93

Te-Umman, king of Elam, who in fierce battle was wounded, Tammaritu, his eldest son, took him by the hand, (and) to save (their) lives, they fled. They hid in the midst of the forest. With the help of Ashur and Ishtar, I killed them. Their heads I cut off in front of each other.

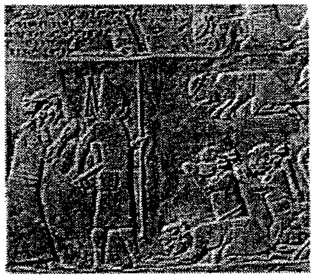


Urtak, Te-Umman's son-in-law, who was wounded by an arrow, (but) did not die, called to an Assyrian for his own decapitation saying:


'Come here, cut off my head, bring (it) to the king your lord and make a good name

Te-Umman, in desperation, said to his son:

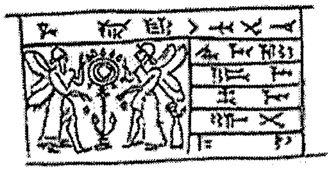
Head of Te-Um[man, king of Elam], which in the thick of bat[tle] a common soldier in my army [cut off]. To (give me) the good ne[ws] they hastily dispatched (it) to Assy[ria].



[Umman]igash, the fugitive, the servant who had grasped my feet, at my command, joyfully into the midst of Madaktu and Susa I caused my representative, whom I sent, to enter, and he installed him on the throne of Te-Umman, whom my hands conquered

The tragic end of the Elamite king Te-Umman, Ulai river battle (664 BC)

PLATE 94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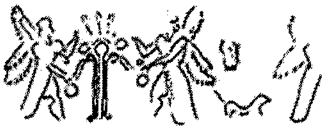
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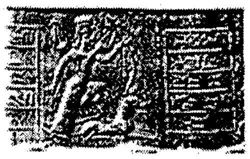
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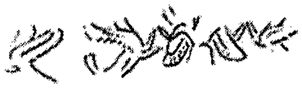
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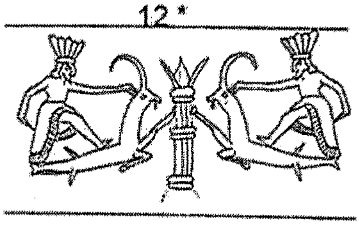
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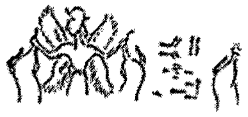
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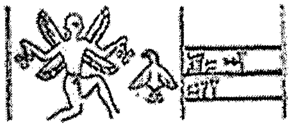
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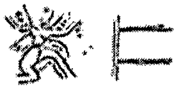
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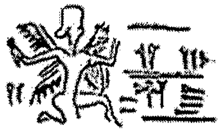
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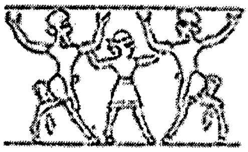
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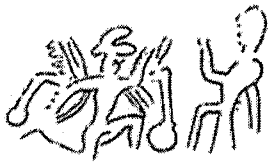
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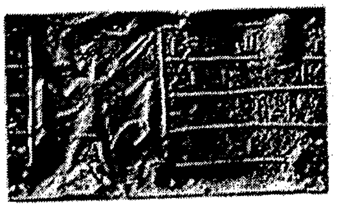
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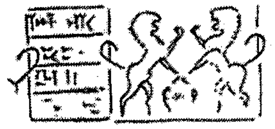
NEO-ELAMITE SEALS:
MYTHOLOGICAL SERIES

PLATE 95



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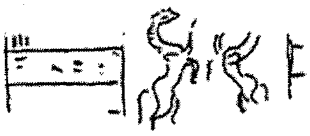

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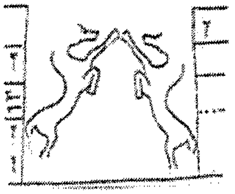

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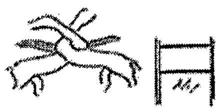

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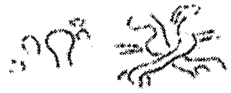

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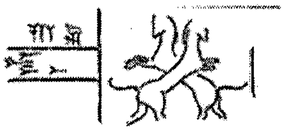

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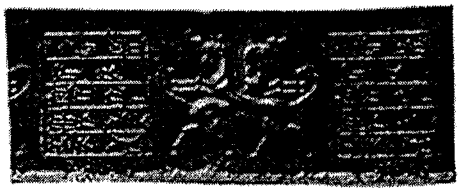

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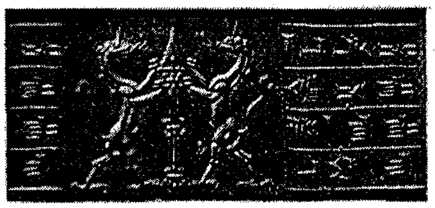

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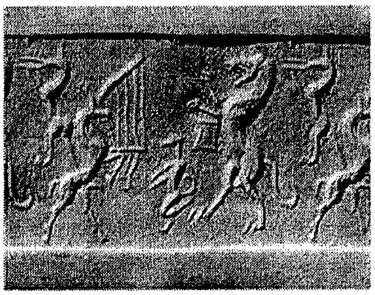

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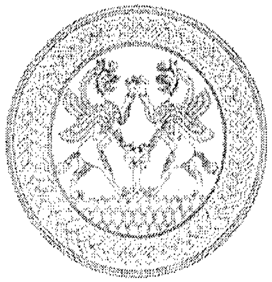
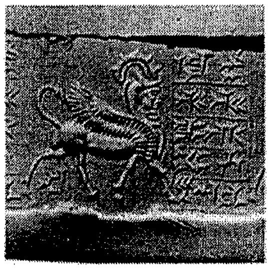
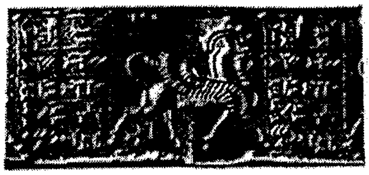


Heraldic Engraving from the Arjan 'ring'

NEO-ELAMITE SEALS:
HERALDIC SERIES

PLATE 96





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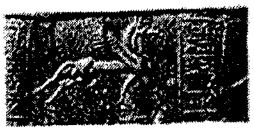

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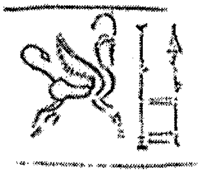

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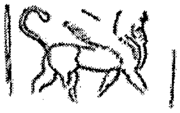

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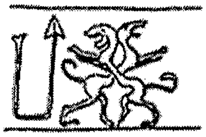

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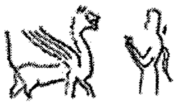

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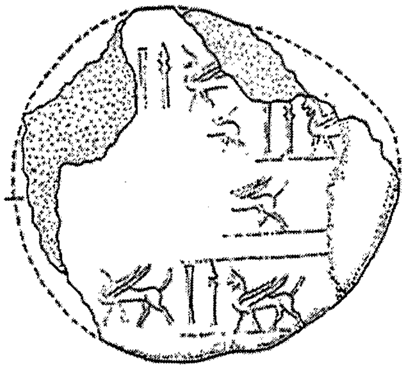

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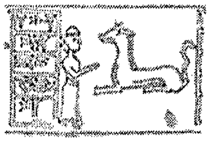

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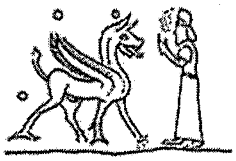

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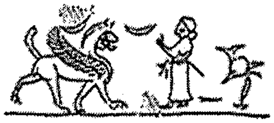

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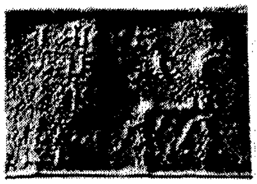
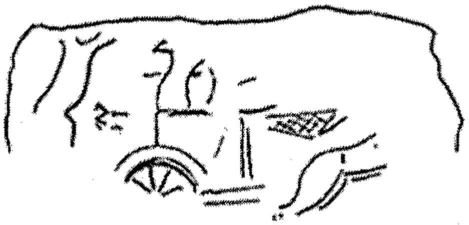


29 *

NEO-ELAMTIE SEALS:
CULTIC SERIES

PLATE 97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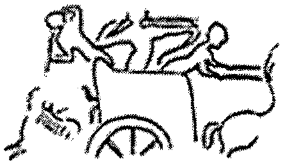
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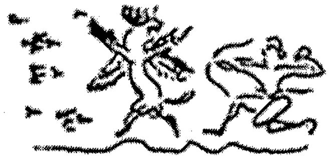
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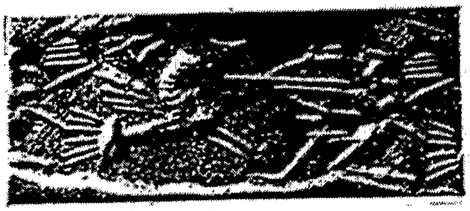
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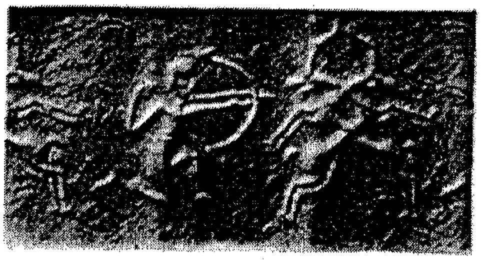
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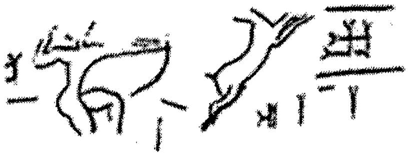
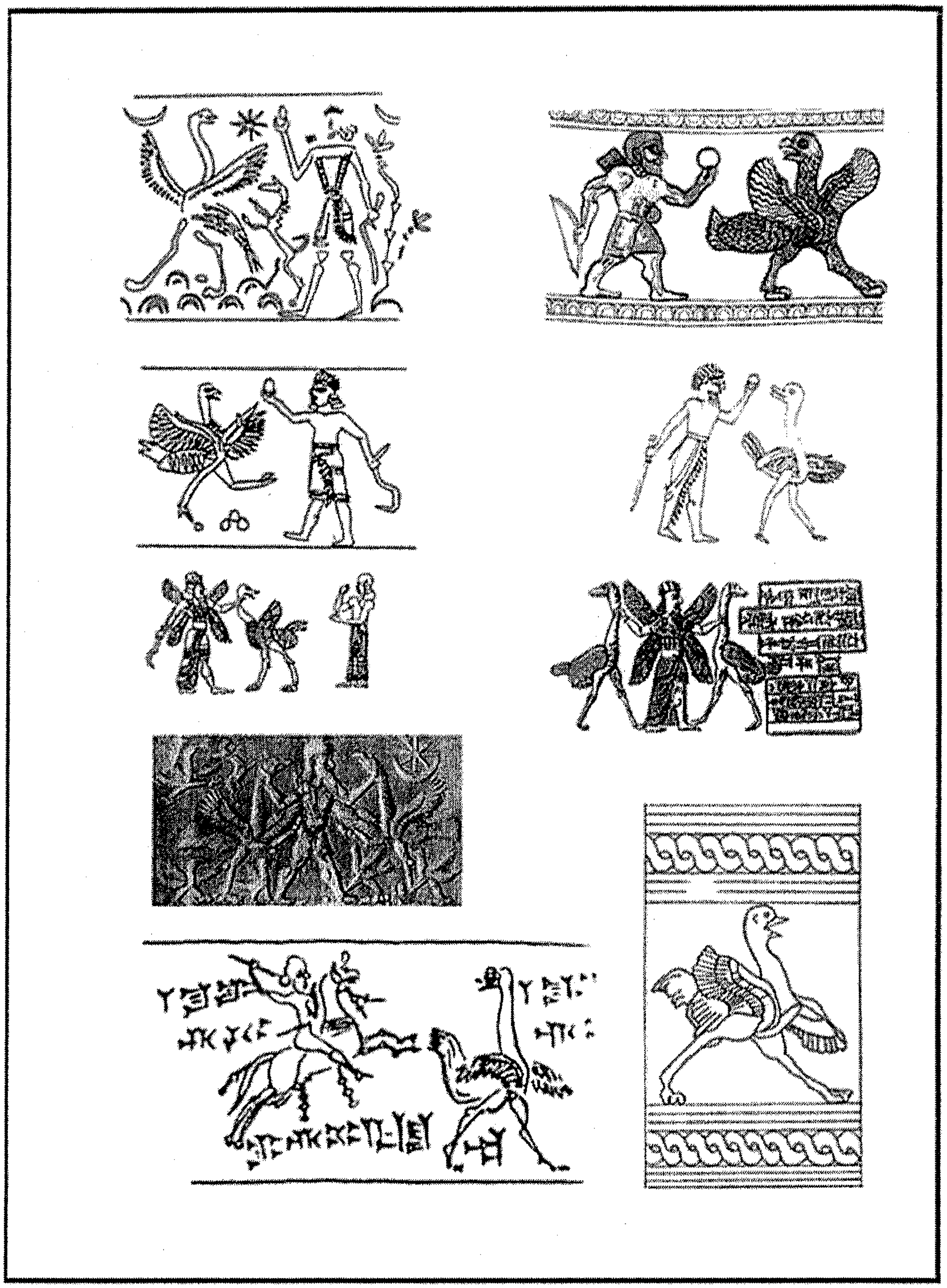

39 Ap

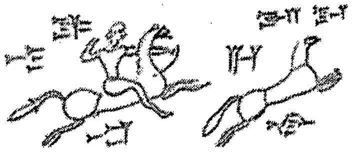
NEO-ELAMITE SEALS:
HUNTIG ON CHARIOT AND FOOT SERIES

PLATE 98



Ist Milllennium BC seals representing Ostriches
and draqing of ostrich depicted in the Arjan Beaker

40 Ap



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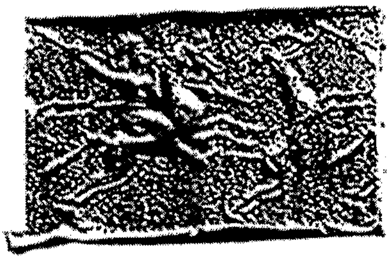

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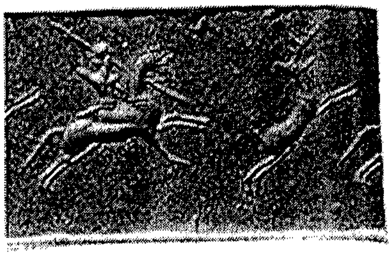

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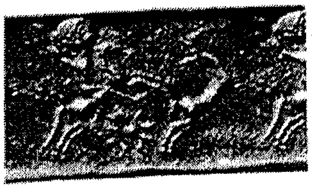

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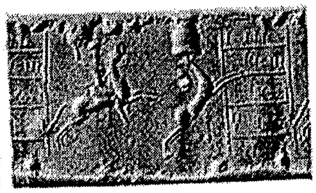

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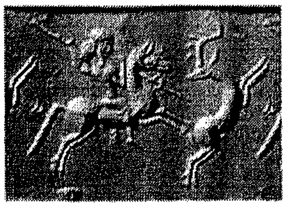

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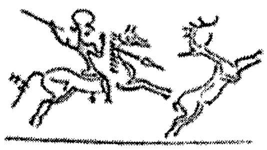

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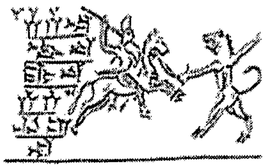

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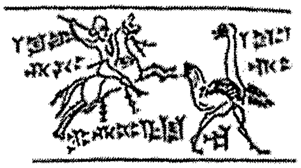

56 *

NEO-ELAMITE SEALS:
ELAMO-IRANIAN SERIES